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War, Peace, and the Future

Ellen Key

Key
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By Ellen Key

The Century of the Child
The Education of the Child
Love and Marriage
The Woman Movement
Rahel Varnhagen
The Renaissance of Motherhood
The Younger Generation
War, Peace, and the Future

War, Peace, and the Future

A Consideration of Nationalism and Internationalism, and of the Relation of Women to War

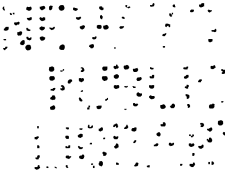
By

Ellen Key

Author of "The Century of the Child," "Love and Marriage," "The Woman Movement," etc.

Translated by

Hildegard Norberg



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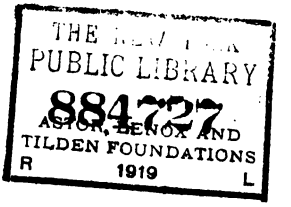
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PREFACE

At the end of August, 1914, after the first three weeks of war, I was asked:

"In what way can humanity prevent war? Is it, according to your opinion, possible, and if so by what means?"

My answer was:

The belief that we some day shall be able to prevent war is to me one with the belief in the possibility of making humanity *really* human.

The first means of preventing war would be to let all education of the growing generation aim at eradicating the predatory instincts in which war, as shown at the outbreak of hostilities, has its roots.

But such an education will not be given either in the home or in the schools so long as both pedagogues and preachers teach us that war is part of God's plan for the world, and that Christianity can go hand in hand with a warlike spirit and warlike acts. To

take the name of God and Jesus *thus* in vain should be the only blasphemy legally indictable.

Another means against war would be to consider it the worst crime against the freedom of the press to use the press as a means of disseminating personal or party hatred within a nation or national hatred between nations.

In order to prevent yellow war-journalism as a means of private speculation, all industries that directly serve the purposes of war should become State monopolies.

A third means would be that, when a conflict threatens, public opinion demand that the Government publish the mutual negotiations *before* a declaration of war, not *after*, as is now the case.

At present the most effective way of preventing war would be for statesmen to direct politics so as to support a *sound* nationalism. This leads to concordance between people of kindred race and languages, whereas the conquest and coercion of people of different race and language inevitably lead to new wars.

Alliances for the purpose of mutual help in war and the rivalry among nations to outdo one another in preparing for war, are bound to

breed war, especially when the foregoing peace-contract has violated national rights. It is such treaties that have kept Europe in that constant state of war-preparedness which has so impoverished our civilization both before and after the outbreak of this war.

Even since 1870 this narrow-minded statesmanship has prevailed in Europe,—the statesmanship that seeks to enlarge the political and economical spheres of nations by military means. War can be prevented only by broad-minded statesmanship,—a statesmanship that understands how to *enlist people's interests in a leading cause.* The cause that, during the last fifty years, *ought* to have been the foremost in the statesmanship of Western Europe is the union—for the present armed—of Western Europe with the purpose of defending peace, freedom, and culture against the prevailing barbarism of the East, where might is right. Instead, narrow-minded statesmanship has for the last four decades divided the Powers of Europe and has now lined them up in a battle-formation that is contrary to all civilization. If war between the civilized Powers of Europe is to be prevented in future, they will have to eliminate the above-mentioned

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War, Peace, and the Future

War, Peace, and the Future

CHAPTER I

THE DEBIT BALANCE OF WAR—VISUALIZING WAR

THE most highly coloured descriptions of the war give me, at least, a fainter picture of its horrors than the quite spontaneous comparisons, drawn from homely occupations, that one finds in letters written on the battle-fields.

One letter speaks of a river where the dead bodies were floating like timber.

With what sadness have we not often watched the forest's mighty stems carried away in such a stream. Yet one knows that the trees must die so that they may become homes for man. But as the bodies are being carried away in this stream, we know that many homes will fall together for lack of their support.

Another tells how the bullets fell like the grains from a sowing-machine. Only these "grains" did not fall to become bread, but to sow death for many thousands of bread-winners for whom millions of hungry mouths wait in vain.

A third speaks of how the bayonets lifted the bodies of the enemy as the pitchfork the hay. We miss the splendour of the fields when the hay is garnered. But on the battle-fields are garnered the mutilated bodies of the men that, when living, helped to make the people's summer glory.

A fourth says that the ranks were mown down as quickly as one mows a field of clover. How often one lingers with a sigh at the sight of a field of sweet, red clover-heads just felled by the scythe! Yet on the battle-field, the heads that lie as thickly side by side, are the heads of those that should have given us new thoughts, new discoveries, and new creations.

Yet another depicts how they burned the dead in heaps like the withered leaves in autumn. It is with a feeling of regret that we stand at such a pyre of leaves, but we do not resent the destruction, for we know that these withered leaves have lived out a long,

glorious summer. On the other hand, the sap was still running in the leaves from the tree of man, and we know that they might have had a long and beautiful summer still before them.

On All Saints' Day the thoughts of millions of men and women went out to the loved ones whom they had lost. And many of these were even deprived of what, especially in Catholic countries, means so much: the comfort of laying flowers and weeping at the graves. Many do not even know where their loved one was lost; no thought can go to the spot where he rests, and no message can come from the place where the light flickered that was the light of life for at least one woman.

No descriptions of the violence of war are more suggestive than those which liken it to an earthquake, a volcanic eruption, and avalanches—natural catastrophes before which man is helpless and which arouse our compassion and generosity for the victims. But the havoc wrought by war, which one compares with the havoc wrought by nature, is not an unavoidable fate before which man stands helpless. The natural forces that are the cause of war are human passions which it lies

in our power to change. What are culture and civilization if not the taming of blind forces within us as well as in nature?

One speaks of the outbreak of wars as presenting excellent opportunities for practising compassion and charity. He who does not see that the world is already full of opportunities for practising these virtues without adding to the havoc of volcanoes, earthquakes, storms, and icebergs, must be blind indeed. Those who point to the virtues that war calls forth have had the futility of their argument proved by the Swedish archbishop, Nathan Söderblom, who drew attention to the spirit of heroism that the *Titanic* disaster disclosed, and asked if any one would wish to bring about another such disaster merely to witness similar deeds of heroism?

That war, from the point of view of the individual, is a curse, and not a blessing, goes without saying. Yet there are still many who believe that it is our duty in time of war to put the fate of the individual entirely to one side and consider only the blessing for the nation as a whole.

What are these blessings that fall to the nation as a whole? To discover them one

must, to begin with, entirely overlook all the loss and suffering caused by the destruction of material property. Some of these—ancient relics, great works of art, beautiful natural scenery—must remain an irreparable loss for the country as a whole. Likewise, hundreds of thousands of homes have become poorer for all time, through the loss of precious heirlooms such as letters, portraits, furniture, works of art, and buildings with their memories and associations.

Of the trampled harvests, the burnt villages, devastated forests, and destroyed bridges we can say with Geijer, the Swedish poet and historian:

> The lords of might with clatter and cries
> Are breaking the lands in twain.
> The silent plougher patiently plies
> The blood-drenched soil for his grain.

If only so many return from these massacres that there will be arms enough for the work, these losses may gradually be repaired, thanks to the greatest of all world-powers, the *imperium* of *work*.

And, in return for all these material losses

and expenses, the victors at least may be able to point to new territory or war indemnities or trade treaties as sources of new wealth.

But for the defeated, the opposite is the case. We believe that the spiritual gain as a result of the unselfishness, loyalty, and heroism shown in defence of the mother-country will be shared by all. The lasting results, we believe, will be an inner unity, co-operation, and enthusiasm, far surpassing that attained in times of peace.

But those who speak thus forget that, at the same time, we suffer immeasurable losses. How many things of great value are not already irreparably lost! Everywhere in the world, in neutral countries as well as in warring, people feel themselves robbed. They have lost the ideals that warmed and uplifted them; they are cut off from all international work in the fields of science, literature, and art; they are deprived of the joy they shared with one another in intellectual achievements. The bridges that span the boundary rivers of national prejudices and self-interest will be much more slowly replaced than the physical means of communication.

For in the former case it is a question of a

mental state that has been achieved with great difficulty. Innumerable fine-spun cables of mutual response have been destroyed; innumerable lives have been thwarted in their normal trend; innumerable thoughts have been blighted. The billions with which war reduces national capital are as nothing compared with the irretrievable loss of cultural wealth we have sustained. And if we stop to consider what we have in its stead,—the brutalizing of feelings, the coarsening of thoughts, the blunting of our sense of justice in the name of nationalism—then the loss is immeasurable indeed.

Even those who in their national arrogance reject the thought of an international exchange of ideas in the future, and believe that the quickening of a new nationalism will be able to supply all the needed mental stimulus, ought to grow thoughtful before the orgies of hatred we now have to witness.

However great the spiritual benefits of a patriotism that has been able to do away with party feeling and the self-sufficiency of personal egotism, would not the sacrifices of patriotism weigh lightly against the cruelties of war; voluntary charity, against international hatred?

Or let us balance only values of the same kind against each other. On the one side, the high patriotic values war has engendered; on the other, all the great, uplifting riches of human love and happiness, of beauty, work, and dreams that war destroys?

What if people in the intoxication of war are carried away by the thought of a greater future and greater power for their country; what if they point to all the material benefits such as the billions in war indemnities, and the tremendous increase in mental strength that a safeguarded, perhaps even more powerful, political standing will give them? It is not said that these dreams will come true. A victory that isolates a people in an ever so powerful self-sufficiency may cost them morally more than defeat. No gain in territory will compensate the loss if thus they shut themselves out from the domains of the mind. And no dreams of national greatness will ever be able to give a people the same impetus as the consciousness of a mutual sphere for the give and take of creative ideas.

Even if we consider only the sublime feelings that war has called forth,—not only in those who have actively partaken in it but

also in all those who have remained at home, prepared for the news of the loss of all that is dear to them—what is the naked truth?

Let us think of all the years to come when those that are left will have to live with their sorrow and to fight for existence in homes robbed of husbands, sons, fathers, and brothers; the long years that are sure to see the rekindling of the old party hatreds; the long years in which the problems of social contrast will still remain unsolved—what then will be left of the glow of sacrifice, unity, and heroism that the war has called forth? The masses will be cheated now as always in their hopes; they have fulfilled their *duties* as citizens but will not reap the *reward*. And for these, as for the other classes, not even the victory of their country will be able to keep the flames from becoming ashes. The mean souls will again become mean, the wicked ones wicked, and the stupid ones stupid. It is only during a time of national psychosis that they can rise above themselves. But until the last hour of their lives they will have to bear the results of the war. Above all, these results of the war will be shown in the numberless children whose bodies and souls have been branded by

the bitterness and horror, race-hatred and brutality of war. And those that are, for instance, the fruits of the "military marriages" that took place before the men left for the front, children who will perhaps never see their fathers, and whose mothers are weighed down by the sorrow and the struggle for existence, will their lot be any better than that of the poor illegitimate waifs we already have in our communities?

What gain in power—whether political or financial—will compensate the unheard-of loss in happiness, peace, and beauty in the realm of childhood?

When humanity in all earnest considers all the losses of war, then it will demand an answer to the question whether a nation's power and honour must for all time depend on armaments and be defended by war.

CHAPTER II

THE CASE OF SWEDEN AND NORWAY. AN INTERNATIONAL OBJECT LESSON

WE Swedes are perhaps those who can most easily answer this question. For it is not long since we were ready ourselves to plunge into a war, the misery of which would have been caused in the name of nationalism.

Who does not remember the waves of nationalism that swept the country in 1905 as well as during the previous years? One spoke in Sweden then, just as one speaks in the warring countries now, of national honour, national safety, and national existence. All this craved the subjugation of Norway through the power of arms. To be sure, the love of peace found expression alike at the meetings of poor working-men on the open roads and at the meetings of the Cabinet, and peace won. But we know how nearly the military spirit triumphed. What would under such

circumstances have been our position now, with the world in flames around us? Weakened in every respect, we should stand with a menacing enemy as our nearest neighbour. Even the nationalists must now admit that it was best for our country that their wishes were not fulfilled, that the desire for peace and reconciliation, which was then called treason, got the ascendency. There may even be, here and there, a nationalist who sees that the peaceful solution of the conflict, which he then considered a disgrace to our country, has done more to raise us in the estimation of Europe than anything since the time when we were a so-called world-power.

The mutual hatred of 1905, that then craved war, did not go deeper. The Swedes and Norwegians are already welcome guests in each other's countries, and we are again beginning to speak of the possibilities of a respect-inspiring co-operation. We have celebrated the hundredth anniversary of peace between us; we have together proclaimed our strict neutrality and promised that, whatever happens, we shall not take up arms against each other.

No example can better demonstrate, speak-

ing as a Swede at least, that the hatred incited by nationalism between two peoples is only the crest of the wave, not the depth beneath. There is no such thing as *permanent* hatred between two nations. But nationalism may create it overnight. They tried to bring about a war on the Scandinavian peninsula just in the same way as war was brought about between the countries of Europe. Calm consideration could have brought about a reconciliation between the countries of Europe just as well as it was brought about here in the North; and the peoples of the West that are now tearing each other to pieces with weapons and words would soon have been willing to extend to one another a brotherly hand.

On the other hand, we know that had nationalism had its way in 1905 and war in Scandinavia been the result, then the now already forgotten hatred would have been kindled to a flame that would have burnt not only during our generation, but during coming generations.

That our countries were spared this fate is due principally to the fact that none of the statesmen who had the fate of our respective

countries in their hands lost their balance and moderation in the national turmoil. It was due also to the fact that both the masses and every member of the royal family in Sweden were one in their wish for peace. Not long ago I heard an old man tell the story of a conversation he overheard, during the time of the crisis, between King Oscar II. and an excited nationalist. The latter wondered if His Majesty would not soon lose patience with the Norwegians and take to severer measures. The King answered that his measures must be approved of by his Cabinet. At which the nationalist assured the King that every Swede would be willing to follow him in a war against Norway. At this the King became truly majestic. Drawing himself to his full height he answered with great dignity: "You seem to forget entirely that I am also the King of Norway!"

If Oscar II. had loved his other kingdom less; if he—after the personal insult that the breaking of the union meant—had been enflamed by the desire for revenge and listened to the nationalists in Sweden, then war would have been the result. The people of each country would have been as convinced of the

necessity of war for the sake of their national power, prestige, and glory as are the countries now at war!

From our own recent experience, we Swedes have, therefore, reason to know that war can be brought about by the psychological condition of a few leading persons, whereas war can be avoided if the people and their leaders co-operate in their wish for peace.

From this we see that there is no way of keeping a minority from involving the nation in a war so long as the decision rests with the secret councils of a small circle of ambassadors and rulers, the latter of which may already have ordered a mobilization during the negotiations. The thoughts that are making themselves felt on many sides, that this must be the last war in Europe, will, no doubt, concentrate themselves on the problem of how to place the responsibility entirely and openly on the people. If this can come about, then we may hope that the prevailing and growing love of peace among the masses will be able to prevent nationalism from creating war. Once war has become a fact, we see, on the other hand, that even socialists are enflamed by patriotism—nay, nationalism.

The chief difference between patriotism and nationalism is that patriotism demands of a people, before all things, that they act rightly. But the cry of nationalism is "My country, right or wrong!" Patriotism is generally conducive to peace, whereas nationalism is conducive to war.

In nationalism, barbarism—with which I here mean contempt of justice—is always latent, and in time of war becomes obvious. This barbarism is at such times strengthened by the reawakening of the inherent predatory instincts of man, and by the more or less justified interests that are bound up with one's ideas of national power and honour. Patriotism has such interests too. Even patriotism demands the defence of the mother-country, even patriotism wishes that we leave the country stronger and better in the hands of our children. But patriotism knows that there are other and better ways of winning a place in the sun than at the expense of other nations, that the wish to live need not cost another nation its life. Sweden and Norway, for instance, have during their hundred years of peace bloomed both materially and intellectually as never before.

Patriotism knows that empires created and held together by force keep up a state of war between the peoples; and that, therefore, the first condition of peace must be a true nationalism that allows every homogeneous people possessing self-esteem to have the same rights of freedom and independent action that the individual enjoys; but that these rights for the nation as for the individual must have their boundaries where the rights of others begin. Patriotism, therefore, must consider every conquest and subjugation of other nations as barbarous. But not only this: it will be the cause of new wars, in so much as the people, alien to their conquerors in race or religion, language or customs, past history or future ideals, remain an inorganic part of the new so-called mother-country. Such differences must be a constant source of disturbances in a commonwealth without in any way adding to its organic strength. An organization that is capable of life relies on *voluntary* subordination and co-operation. This alone constitutes a power that is also just.

The pacifistic idea of the State emphasizes the unity of the people instead of the unity

of the State, the will of the people instead of compulsion. It makes the development and happiness of the younger generation the chief aim of the State, and, therefore, considers that no economical or political power is worth winning at the expense of these.

As the masses are peace-loving, this war would probably never have come about, if the men from the factories and fields had had their say in the matter. No people are more peace-loving and meek than the Russians, and for that reason they tolerate a form of government that is a curse to themselves and Europe. It is those who believe themselves to have a broader perspective for what is due the strength and honour of a nation that keep up and are answerable for war. Probably no government was so bent on war that it deliberately provoked it. But Germany and Russia, France and England have for decades practised a statecraft that has been far too crafty, disintegrating instead of creative. Each one, therefore, in a measure, bears the blame for the war. No white or blue, yellow or green books can absolve any of the Powers from the culpable fact that the darkest pages of their history are being written

with the best blood of their sons. That they *all* believe themselves to be fighting for the power, honour, and glory of their country does not any more justify this war than the religious wars were justified by people thinking that they were fought for the power, honour, and glory of God. War can never be justified unless as a last resort for the very existence of the nation. But this was not the case with any of the countries now involved, with the exception of Belgium. Each one of the great Powers might have preserved peace, had it so desired. The only thing that each wished was not to *declare* war. But as they had expended all their energy in *preparing* for war, the *outbreak* of war, in a moment of high tension, became inevitable.

CHAPTER III

THE PILING-UP OF EXPLOSIVES. PEACE AND PREPAREDNESS

THE war has given the nationalists a new excuse for scoffing at the peace-movement. "Now the silly pipes of peace are quiet at last; now we shall not have to hear any more feminist babbling against war; now reality has at last put a stop to the bleating of the peace-sheep." Those who speak thus only show their entire ignorance of the peace-question as its *thoughtful* spokesmen look upon it. Not that these have been blind to the probability of this war; on the contrary, it was just because they have seen it approaching that they recommended other means than ever-increased armaments to insure peace. Just because they knew that under the present conditions of anarchy between nations treaties would be considered mere scraps of paper, they have tried to do away with anarchy

by organizing, by perfecting a peace-technique in preference to—or at least parallel with—war-technique. The upholders of peace have been proved more justified than they could have wished when they claimed that armaments were no preventive of war. For if the *only* surety for a country's peace and freedom lies in preparedness for war, the inevitable result will be that as soon as it thinks its existence is threatened and it feels itself strong enough to make armed resistance, hostilities will break out. It is just the upholders of peace who have pointed out that the imperialism of the great Powers and the nationalism of the small must entail war-preparedness so long as they acknowledge no other means of protecting their "place in the sun," of seeing their justified wish for life and development respected.

It is the upholders of the peace-movement who have claimed that the great Powers—all of whom wished to increase the spheres of their economical and territorial influence—were bound to collide, and that it is, therefore, meaningless to put the blame on one or the other. All are to blame, or none. The wish for growth and power is not in itself unjusti-

fied. No sensible pacifist believes that this wish is determined by the form of government. Republics or empires, democratic or autocratic forms of government may lead to militarism as well as imperialism as long as national growth seeks expression in this way. Every individual nation, as every individual person, has the right to develop its possibilities. All have the same reason to fight for their safety. That, objectively speaking, the one that has the higher civilization to defend for humanity may claim a superior right does not prevent each nation from subjectively considering its own war holy, each nation believing "our" God to be on its side, as it is its own national spirit that it is defending.

The peace-propagandists have pointed out that the inciting of nationalism, the struggle for economical interests, colonial policies, and militarism in every country have piled up more and more explosives until only the match was missing to explode the whole in war. Its avoidance was possible only if the people could unite upon some other means of keeping peace than that of vying with one another in armaments. The means that the peace-propagandists have been suggesting

was a continuation of the upbuilding of international rights in such a way that the future peace and development of the nations might be safeguarded.

It was assuredly not in praise of the *establishment* of peace that the peace-congresses were held! They were held to lay stress on the *probability* of war, unless one could agree upon a means of preventing it. One has not been able to unite—because the great Powers have preferred to depend on their armies! And these armies have become the great menace to peace: the excellent preparation for war made an organization for peace unnecessary—in the opinion of the leaders.

We do not have to turn to the pacifists any more for proofs of how far-sighted they have been. We need only read what the combatants have to say of one another! What do we hear now but the most severe reproaches for —the sins of the *other* side: Servia's nationalistic mania; the foolish lust for revenge in France; the commercial jealousy of perfidious Albion; the militarism and kaiserism of barbaric Germany; the tsarism and panslavism of uncouth Russia. In a word, those who are now making war are pointing to just these

manifestations of nationalism and imperialism as the causes of war.

The Powers reason now just as the pacifists, with this difference only, that their own nationalism is holy, whilst that of their neighbours is condemnable.

Before the war, however, only the nationalists in each country defended the nationalistic—or rather imperialistic—doctrine. Where formerly socialists, pacifists, and radicals criticized the nationalism of their own country, it is now the enemy who puts the blame on the nationalism of the other country. Let us consider, for example, the obvious fact that the present war between Germany and France was in reality declared already in the previous peace-treaty. On the German side, it was especially Bebel who warned against the annexation of territory. On the French side, Renan with prophetic vision explained the reasons, from Germany's own point-of-view, against annexation of French territory. He pointed to panslavism in Russia and in the Balkans; he told Germany that a crippled France would side with panslavism in its coming clash with Germanism. In spite of Germany's fateful mistake prominent men on

both sides have for decades been advocating a reconciliation. Because Anatole France and Jaurès each protested against the idea of *revanche* and the competition in armaments, the former was considered out of date, and the latter was murdered for being "indifferent to his country's honour." The French and German socialists worked together for a reconciliation between the countries, and because the German socialists opposed the ever increasing armaments, they were called "men without a country,"—an appellation which drove Ludwig Franck to the ranks, where he fell right at the outbreak of the war. In England, the only country where one still dares freely criticize the leaders, many socialists and radicals opposed the Boer War; and they were literally stoned! It is from the same group that we have heard the disapproval of competitive fleet-building and of the present war. In Russia, those who have suggested inner reform instead of war policies have been sent to Siberia.

In short, in every country the nationalists have branded as traitors those who urged a policy which—if carried out in all of these countries—could really have ensured peace.

The nationalists in Sweden who have acclaimed imperialism, self-assertion, and militarism in politics, are now in the odd position of hearing each of the warring countries severely judge the leaders of the others for acting according to the rules of national politics and neglecting the rules of international understanding. But—at the same time each country congratulates itself for having followed the policy of competing armaments! This proves better than anything else what all thoughtful pacifists have claimed: that as long as the nations rely on war-preparedness for their safety, no single country can begin disarming; there must be an organized co-operation to make it possible. Or, as far as Europe is concerned, an organization of the West against the East. Germany, France, and England have not willed it. Therefore, each has a share in the blame that the world sees the three most highly civilized nations divided, instead of united in the struggle against tsarism which is at present the real European "*Kulturkampf*."[1]

[1] It is true, the nations now at war assure us that their victories will deliver humanity from imperialism, militarism, tsarism, kaiserism, or whatever else oppresses it. As if a people—or a

Cosmopolitanism is to most Europeans only a word without any corresponding feeling. Only in the East—as is the case with certain Russians, or Tagore and kindred souls—does the word correspond to an inner condition. *Internationalism* is a fact that no scoffing can do away with. But so far it is only a power in commercial and intellectual intercourse, and it will be long before it becomes also a power in the hearts of men. What we must strive first to attain in our part of the world is good *Europeanism*,—that feeling of kin-

class, or individual—ever were free, except by the awakening, converting, and hallowing of its own soul! A people, so long as it has nationalism and servility in its blood, will not be capable of freeing itself. And until this is done, all co-operation between the greater and the smaller Powers, in which the latter keep their individuality and independence, is impossible. When the Slavic people at last possesses freedom coupled with responsibility, rights coupled with the fulfilling of duties, then their great hour in history has come. The soul of the Slavic people has enriched humanity with extraordinary gifts, amongst others, perhaps, the new religion that it bides. One has weighty testimony of the characteristics of this people in Tolstoy, Dostoyevski, Kropotkin, and others. But as long as the Slavic State cripples and martyrizes the Slavic spirit, Europe has no greater political duty for the sake of civilization than to oppose this Russian "state-principle."

A striking proof of the habit of overrating one's own national values, and underrating the enemy's is the unanimous, and justified, complaint in Germany of the continued, and in the last years freshly incited, spirit of revenge in France, that has led

ship and spontaneous co-operation without which we shall soon be helpless against the East, on the one hand, and, economically speaking, the West on the other. But by whipping up national hatred to the point of frenzy the war is destroying just this first requirement for the future of Europe.

The person who tried to define the psychology of national hatred by saying that this hatred fills the voids in our intelligence was partly right. How often have we not seen that when people lack knowledge of a nation,

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her to form the, from every point of view, unnatural alliance with Russia. But Alsace-Lorraine had at least belonged to and been closely united with, France for hundreds of years, and the loss of these provinces wounded the French sense of national honour deeply! At the same time Germany is preaching revenge, in both verse and prose, for the loss of Tsingtau, a small colony, far from Germany, that has not belonged to her for the span of a life-time, the loss of which did not cost the lives of a thousand men! The thought of revenge is directed principally towards the English for having incited the Japanese. At the same time, however, Germany allows herself to spur on the Turk. When the brown, yellow, and black Turkish hordes attack the "Christian dogs," it is a beautiful "*Waffenbrüderschaft.*" But it is considered shameful on the part of the enemy to employ coloured troops against Europeans!

Another striking example is the nationalism of the Russian revolutionists, that showed itself in their belief in the awakening of a new spirit in Russia,—a belief that seen against the background of the Finland-ukases is almost absurdly naïve. The official response was the sending of Bourtseff to Siberia.

they supply the want by prejudice. The same applies to races. That race-hatred now seems to be giving way, in so much as the antagonistic race-nationalism now subordinates itself to the demands of State unity, does not prove that race-nationalism is overcome. Here, as in the case of another inner unity that the war has brought about, one commits grave psychological errors in one's deductions. Patriotism has, for the time being, the same power that religion has during times of religious revival. At such times hearts melt, souls expand, enemies become reconciled. All feelings take on new values; personal sorrow and joy become insignificant, and are only felt in so much as they are a part of national sorrow and joy. Motives that were strong become insufficient to set the will in action, and *vice versa*. All values are revalued. But just as surely as the individual and the party —as pointed out above—return to their normal life and being, when the religious or patriotic ecstasy has left them, just as surely will the antagonistic wills of the nations and races reassert themselves. Only when the State-idea has become identified with the national idea in the sense that there will be

no more suppression of national character, language, laws, etc., can one hope for the end of race antagonism. The same holds good of partisanship; at the conclusion of peace, in case the socialists still have their clear vision of each nation's rights, one will again have to hear that they are lacking in feeling for the power and honour of their country.

The socialists, as well as other pacifists, have long pointed out what an enormous waste of both living and material wealth a condition of war entails, and that safety that relies on war and armaments is only an illusion. In a word, it is just for patriotic reasons that the socialists have wished for a peace-organization. Yet they are willingly taking the consequences of the nationalistic politics that they opposed. Because of this, nationalists point to the sacrifices that war has called forth even in the case of the socialists and pacifists, as a proof that the idea of nationalism is the greater and stronger!

To this socialists and pacifists answer:

It is not nationalism but patriotism that sends us into the fight. How could we cease to be patriots in the hour of our country's need when it was just from love of our country

that we opposed nationalism and tried to show other ways of protecting our peace and freedom, development and greatness? Our advice has not been heeded, and what we foresaw has come to pass: it took only a few hours for the latent condition of war to become acute. But now that it is so, we must help with the only means *for the moment* at our disposal to protect the existence of our people. Should we, for instance, refuse to help put out a fire in our town, because we had warned in vain against the storing of combustibles in the market-place?

It is as self-evident that a people holds together in time of need as it is historically proved that such a unity always dissolves as soon as the pressure that created it is removed. Each party concerned has subconsciously hoped that unity permanent because the scales had fallen from the eyes of the opposing party. But after a few years the different groups fight with the same bitterness as before. National unity is a dream, and not even a lovely dream. The same holds good as regards international unity. But it is not a dream that some day nations will be able to settle their difficulties without war, just as

individuals now settle their personal feuds without resorting to arguments of physical strength or sharp steel. For then humanity will have created international jurisdiction and a power to enforce its laws.

That greater intellectual growth and power necessarily follow a victory is one of many unproved war-dogmas. The wealth and self-esteem of a nation may be increased by a victory, and the possibilities for the creative spirits of a nation to choose great works and find the means to carry them out will be correspondingly increased. But our present knowledge of the laws of inheritance prevents our imagining that more geniuses are born as a result of a victorious war, or that a great State is, in proportion, blessed with more great men than a small State. As far as Germany is concerned, we all know that her foremost poets and philosophers created their works during the time when Germany was weak and divided. The good that is done by increased national self-assurance is partly undone by the expansive tendencies that are the result of power and by the above-mentioned restrictions that are caused by the interruption of the international exchange. When the scien-

tists, poets, and artists of Europe carried the war on to fields where hatred does more harm than on the battle-fields, they caused a hail-storm that blighted the pollen of a new spring for humanity.

Moral and intellectual attainments—erected with as much pains and art as the mediæval cathedrals—lie, like these, in ruins. Justice, conscientiousness, and love of truth, that one imagined were firmly established, at least on the heights of culture, lie in fragments after the cyclone of nationalism has passed over them. Self-love creates a phantastically magnified picture of one's own virtues, and a distorted one of the enemy's faults. Even the most highly cultured have lost the intellectual dignity that despises generalizations and indiscriminate rumours in defending their own nation as well as in condemning their enemies. And if the neutral[1]

[1] Still another example is that of the French and Belgians who were unable to see that they were partly to blame for the destruction of their glorious churches by having, in some cases, used them as watch-towers or strongholds.

Everywhere, even amongst the most emancipated people, we find that patriotism still contains a dross of nationalism. Therefore the idea of true peace stands or falls with the purification of patriotism from nationalism. If the most noble-minded are

countries conscientiously examine all sides of the question, they are accused of not being neutral!

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capable of such unjust national discrimination, we cannot be surprised that the common natures show themselves incredibly stupid or brutally cruel in their national frenzy. In Germany people refuse to buy flowers grown in France, and in France gardeners who sell lilies, grown from German bulbs, are boycotted! In Germany, the word "Copyright" marring the books is excused with a reference to the existing law, which still makes such a protection necessary, etc.

CHAPTER IV

INTERNATIONALISM

THOSE who imagine they now witness the triumph of nationalism and the collapse of internationalism, lack eyes to see, ears to hear. Every day, and in every corner of the world, the reality of internationalism is obviously proved, in the arresting of commerce, the want of raw material, the high price of food, the lack of work, and every kind of congestion. Our whole economical, scientific, and artistic life is already international. No nationalism, however one-sided, can alter the fact, proved in a thousand ways every day, that there is not a person who is not suffering through the lack of an interchange that has become a vital necessity to all civilized nations. Their culture has grown by and through this interchange, and it will be as impossible for that culture to continue without it, as it would have been for

the one to come into existence without the other.

But internationalism is proving its power in quite a new way, namely in the anxiety of the warring nations to be judged rightly by the world. This is most clearly shown in the way all the warring nations try to free themselves of every blame for initiating the war. Formerly, a nation that broke the peace, did not trouble to try and prove to the world that it was done solely from higher motives. Then one believed, with a good conscience, in the still accepted doctrine that "The might of a people is its right; that whereby my people profits, that which increases the power of my country, is reason enough for war." *Now war has a bad conscience.* Now every nation assures us that it is bleeding for a human cause, the fate of which hangs in the balance of its victory. All now declare themselves to be fighting for right, against might, the very thing that the pacifists urged. No nation will admit that it was solely to ensure its own safety and to increase its power, that it declared war. No nation dares to admit the guilt of blood before the world. All are anxious to acquit themselves of the charges of barbarous

warfare. This should be proof enough of the reality of internationalism.

When one sees this fear of the responsibilities of war, one must agree with those who claim that the hasty decisions between the governments, now made possible by the help of the telephone and telegraph, are largely to blame for the outbreak of war. Had one had more time to negotiate, it is possible that the suicide now going on in Europe would have been, at least, postponed. From all sides one hears complaints that the negotiators were insincere or unwise. At the same time, the thought is beginning to make itself felt that mobilization, and the declaration of war, should be laid before parliament for its decision. Whatever this decision might be, the people would have chosen their fate through their representatives and would not have had it dictated to them by a few men, who are seldom equal to the responsibility.

If one reflects carefully upon what is said above, one can hardly help coming to the conclusion that we have to reckon not only with new instruments of destruction, and a greater appetite for power, but also with new mental attitudes. When these are crystal-

lized into clear thought, they will be as effective in ending war as the new mortars have been in destroying forts, previously considered impregnable.

CHAPTER V

NATIONALISM AND PATRIOTISM

THE best proof that the peace-movement is patriotic is that it sees in international law the safest means of protecting national values. Only the narrow-minded and the short-sighted are unable to see that love of humanity and love of country ought to be as easy to combine as the love of home and native village, or love of country and native village.

Only those who are mentally colour-blind can speak of the bright colours of nationalism in contrast to the drab background of internationalism. These colour-blind people have never seen the shining bow of promise above the present flood. It is just because there are so *many* colours that this bow has such a splendour. It gives one the promise of a time, when the different characteristics of the nations will stand side by side and melt

together in as beautiful a harmony as the colours of the rainbow.

To be sure, the national colours will not be as sharply defined as now—just as no individual should be too pronounced in the community of which he is a part. But the national self-assertion that a people would lose, on the one hand, by an international union, they would gain, on the other, in safety, strength, and development, just as the individual, by making renunciations for the community, gains innumerable advantages which otherwise he would have to forego. The real tug-of-war is not between patriotism and nationalism—as pointed out above in another connection—but between the outgrown patriotism and the new way of feeling for the mother country.

For, whereas, nationalism still seeks power, honour, and glory through means that endanger other countries, patriotism knows that a country's strength and honour can only be *permanently safeguarded through concourse with other countries*. And whereas nationalism scoffs at the idea of international laws and regulations, patriotism seeks to create such. Far from sanctioning nationalism in this

respect, the present war proves by the numberless assurances from the warring peoples themselves, that this *must* be the last war between the peoples of Europe, that an entirely new order of things *must* be brought about in Europe to protect us from a repetition of the present horrors. Given such an organization, the great men of science are already promising us an era of progress, that far surpasses anything we have yet known.

Granted that the Germans hope to develop this new order of things under German rule, and the English under English rule; if the victory should for the time being favour either of these imperially conceived ideas of a world-peace, we may be sure that neither of these, by their own "hegemony," peace-creating world-powers would be spared the experience of the law that holds good not only for the trees of the forest, but also for the tree of nations, that they may not grow into the heavens. "Greater Germany" as well as "Greater Britain" might possibly have a preparatory significance in the creating of a world-unity, but nothing more. For neither of them can create or keep its position of rulership except by means that must remain

incompatible to a world-unity, viz., by war-preparedness. Only when this has ceased to constitute the mainstay of states-power, only when broad-minded statesmen show the people new ways of creating the power that is necessary to keep less civilized nations and races in check, can we hope that the strong confederations—of Germans, of Latins, of Slavs—will not only ensure peace, but also a true nationalism,—that is, the inviolability of the national individuality. Every peace that entails the crippling of one of the warring peoples is not peace, but merely a suspension of arms—until either side has sufficiently recovered and prepared to begin the blood-letting anew.

If, on the other hand, no one wins, then patriots in all countries will have an opportunity of hindering the creation of an empire State which by forceful means enlarges the "narrow patriotism" of merely national units.

To be sure, an empire can indirectly help pacifism, just as the trusts help socialism, by perfecting an organization for international co-operation and by acquainting us with another, and larger, sphere of unity than that of the national state. But once the means

are completed, it will be as with Switzerland and America, where equal and self-governing states unite to choose their own leaders. Only then can the people be willing to subject themselves to an international law, which individual nations may not break without paying the penalty, just as the separate provinces each at one time had to submit themselves to the mother-country. At the time of each such submission there have been short-sighted individuals who have opposed such a step. But experience has always proved that what one at the time considered self-sacrifice has afterwards meant an increase in possibilities through the interchange with a higher organism. As nationalism at one time was far superior to the particularism of the warring provinces and their chieftains, so is patriotism superior to nationalism, or, in other words, the love that puts humanity before the nation is far superior to the love that puts the nation before humanity.

Not only is it *ethically* superior but also superior in its *power* to safeguard the nation's *growth* inwardly as well as outwardly,—only a growth, however, that does not infringe on the rights of other nations.

Nationalism and patriotism are built on diverging views of the aim and reason for a people's growth. Patriots must now bleed for the nationalistic idea of the highest goal that national ambition can aim at, how best to apply the nation's strength. All are willing to lay down their lives so that the mother country may live. Meanwhile, the patriots are strengthened in their desire to lead humanity into new ways, and turn them from the ways that have now led them into a labyrinth of horrors, from which we, at present, can see no avenue of escape.

The talk one formerly heard that war furthered the survival of the fittest, is now silenced. Conscription is detrimental to race hygiene. We know that it is the strong, the well-endowed, that are killed, or crippled, or invalided for life; it is those who are best suited to become the fathers of a new generation that are the first to suffer the consequences of war. When one now speaks of war as a means of selection, he means that it is the strongest, and fittest, who win. This was true as long as man fought man. Now, however, it is by the perfection of their armaments, by numbers and riches that the great Powers

crush each other and the weaker countries. The latter may do wonders through bravery, self-sacrifice, and efficiency; their patriotism may be ever so glowing. Nevertheless, they go under in the struggle with the greater Power, because they are unable to offer invincible resistance. But such a little nation may have had just as fine, or even finer, cultural values with which to bless humanity, than the greater nation whose victim it has become. Even if one leaves the point-of-view of selection to one side, a condition between nations that at certain intervals breaks out in war is a mockery of all their cultural efforts, during these intervals.

Those who glorify war sing the old song that peace makes weaklings. It could never be more thoroughly refuted than at present. For no one can claim that war—like the god of the theologians—creates something out of nothing. All the wonderful traits that war now *discloses* were present in times of peace. But the leaders of the people have either not made scope for them, or, where these characteristics have shown themselves most plainly—in the ranks of the socialists—they have been considered dangerous to the community. Are

not danger and strife in every sphere the psychological cause for bracing to an onset, that for a short time remains at the highest possible tension, only to give way to exhaustion?

Even if we leave this reaction aside—is there really a true foundation for the thought with which the dying console themselves: "We die so that our country may live?" How impoverished a country's "life" must be when the fields are covered with the corpses of the flower of its manhood, when its best blood flows away with the waters of the rivers, when its strongest arms are blown in the air, when the brains that should have solved its cultural problems, sought truth, created beauty, and thought world-redeeming thoughts, are quenched! What can a country win in territory, in billions, or in power that will replace only a fraction of the human worth, that it has lost?[1] A single man may be worth a province, a colony, a billion. Of what avail

[1] To be sure they point to the large increase in the percentages of marriages and births after the last German war, an increase brought about by the economic bloom that followed victory. But this is counterbalanced by the fact that many of the country's best men, having been killed or wounded, never have any families.

is the momentary increase in vitality during the war in comparison with this immeasurable devitalization after the war? War has been called "organized waste." And this is true not only of the material losses, the billions that fly away with the bullets and sink with the boats. Nay, for as we do not fight with professional soldiers but with conscripts, the whole capital that families and states have invested in the upbringing and education of youths for peaceful occupations is wasted. For they die just at an age when they could have begun to repay the investment with and by their work.

Should the shadow pictures of war show themselves on the world's horizon until the end of time, life would not be worth prolonging a second. All the endeavours to decrease mortality, to increase nativity, to exterminate diseases and pest, to alleviate the drain of poverty on the health of the people, to increase the physical and mental health of the race, and to further race betterment through selection would be pitifully meaningless. For then the only aim of all this would be the producing of ever more efficient human material for ever more butcheries. The barbarity

of war becomes more and more obvious the more it uses science to fill the earth, the air, and the seas with implements for destroying both man and his works. If science continues to construct still more destructive weapons, perhaps lack of people and lack of money may make a peace policy a necessity.

CHAPTER VI

PESSIMISM AND OPTIMISM REGARDING WORLD-PEACE

THE accusations of barbarity that one hears on all sides are due partly to the destructiveness of the new weapons, partly to the hysteria that the terror of war creates, and partly to one's *natural inability to make careful observations and to truthfully relate what was observed.* In every army there must be elements that —when out of reach of discipline—give way to their bestial instincts.[1]

[1] When the Germans claim that no German has been guilty of brutality or atrocities, they seem to forget their own experiences in times of peace. Then they try to put down the maltreatment of children both in the schools and the homes that is often of such a grave kind that it drives children to suicide; they have to try to put down the maltreatment of soldiers that often leads to the same result; they try to do away with *drinking and duelling customs* and so forth. And every German knows that there are persons in the German army that belong to the class whose brutality they are fighting against, and that drunkards and criminals are a part of their army just as of every army. No discipline can hinder such elements from bringing ill repute on the others. Then,

But nothing could be more incongruous than to imagine that an army, that is made up of the flower of the people as well as of the masses, that in times of peace practises the simple everyday virtues by which a nation exists, should, in time of war, suddenly be transformed into barbarians. What really happens is that the majority are more and more filled with a hatred of the cruelties of war. On the whole, the partakers in battles are not moved by hatred, and the life at the front is, no doubt, less barbaric than it has ever been. It is the men who are out of reach of the bullets, the gentlemen who sit at their writing-desks, that display a mysterious frenzy which finds expression in race-hatred and war-glorification,—a frenzy that covers itself with a mantle of religion, poetry, philosophy, or art. Those who take part in the bitter reality of war do not glorify it, even if they console themselves and theirs with the thought

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when men weakened by hunger, sleeplessness, fatigue, and bloodshed have access to intoxicating liquors, they soon lose all self-control, and commit acts that they afterwards do not even remember and naturally deny with a good conscience. So much for the individuals; collectively, they may be forced by the iron hand of military discipline to commit acts of cruelty that they, as shown by the soldiers' letters, personally loathe doing.

that it is glorious to die for one's country. To die is for many a one the easiest part of a soldier's duty, whereas to kill becomes ever harder.

Especially to all those whose work, in times of peace, directly or indirectly, tends to preserve or prolong the life of others, this butchery becomes abhorrent. Such people see more clearly than most the absurdity in the idea of "humanizing" warfare. How perfectly meaningless it is to speak of dumdum bullets as being "inhuman" and contradictory to international law and civilization! Do not the shrapnels inflict just as awful wounds? Do not the poisonous gases cause a still more awful death? Is it not contrary to international law to sink neutral ships, and kill innocent women and children with bombs from the air? Everything, everything in war is barbaric. The Red Cross work throws a flashlight on this barbaric madness. First the soldiers try by every means in their power to tear each other to pieces on the battle-fields. Then these torn remains are gathered together, sent to the hospitals to be nursed back to life with every care, only to be again returned to the battle-field there to be still more thoroughly

disabled! But the worst barbarity of war is that it forces men collectively to commit acts against which individually they would revolt with their whole being. From this point of view the coloured races, who still take a savage delight in the blood of war, are least to be pitied. The others have to try to still their nobler feelings with the thought that they are doing their duty,—a duty that makes no allowances except for the protection of one's country. Now and then, in spite of the strict supervision of the censors, a word slips through that throws light on the way in which sensitive men tolerate war. They can do so only by forcing themselves into a new condition of mind. One young French officer writes:

> We live in such unusual times that, in order not to suffer too much, we are *forced to create a trend of thought that is adapted to the conditions around us.* War is barbaric. One must think of descriptions from olden times and try to think in the same way as barbaric people did. And only think of one's fellow-men when one has a moment's leisure.

Any one who lets these words sink into his conscience and dwells on them enough must

come to realize what war means: a condition that causes the work of thousands of years of civilization to be annihilated, which forces the cultured man of the twentieth century to create for himself the soul of a savage—so that he may be able to bear the things he must experience and do![1]

This war has come upon humanity in a

[1] Less sharply defined, but just as significant, are the words of a German working-man published in the *Volksstimme:*

" . . . We marched right across the battle-field. Graves upon graves, castaway guns, and broken cannons marked the spot where the fight had been hottest. We passed ruined homes and burned villages. In the distance roared the cannons. Everywhere the same sight met our eyes: terrible desolation, hungry women and children, weeping old people. My opinion of war is the same as before: It is murder and butchery. It is incomprehensible to me that people of the twentieth century will condescend to such a thing. It is worse than Berta von Suttner's description in her book *Die Waffen nieder.* The world will be a vale of sighs after this. . . ."

The Germans do not believe in "war-psychosis." But they do not deny the nerve and mental illnesses have increased in Germany during the war, as they have in other warring countries. They claim that the "outbreak of psychosis in a war is due to individuals that are mentally defective and who therefore lack normal resistance and have been sent to the front by mistake." Under the given conditions it is very difficult to prove the mental defect, or at least to prove that the same individual could not have lived in times of peace without the defect showing itself. No one will deny that there are quite normal but sensitive souls who have not the resistance to stand the strain of what they must do and witness in war.

time when the feeling of solidarity was stronger than ever before. The same human beings, for instance, that were moved by compassion at the earthquake in Messina, or at the loss of the *Titanic*, are now expected, for patriotic reasons, to hail the news of ships sunk with their crews, armies shot down, and towns burned, entailing a loss of life that makes the loss of the 1600 souls of the *Titanic* seem insignificant. This contradiction between spontaneous sympathy and war callousness causes those who do the actual fighting to become more and more sensitive to the madness, cruelty, and crime of war.

The fact that nerve and mental illnesses steadily increase on the field is to a large extent to be attributed to the phases of this mental dualism. In this there lies redress for humanity. For there are orders which a sensitive man can not fulfil without losing his mind.

The words of the above-mentioned young Frenchman express the mental condition of the refined youth of the present day better than those of a Swedish author who recently wrote that "a youth who lacks every feeling for the charm of warfare is a strange excrescence on the nation's tree."

Not only in our country, but, fortunately, in every country there are such "excrescences." To the more clear-sighted these excrescences are buds. They are the promise of a new spring after our long winter.

The young men with this aversion to war belong to very different classes, if one, indeed, may speak of classes when it is only a question of refinement of feeling. In such a matter a simple working-man may be far above some celebrated light in the intellectual world. Even if the socialists, who at this moment hope for disarmament, suffer from an optical illusion as to the distance between their ideal dreams of the brotherhood of man and present reality, one may still quote the words of Victor Rydberg, the Swedish poet: "The ideal viewpoint is always right, for it sees the goal."

One of the most essential political lessons the world learns from the war is just what the socialists have always claimed: that competing armaments have not advanced peace; that armed neutrality cannot protect the integrity of a little nation in case a greater nation wishes to violate it; that present-day war is more destructive, more horrible than any previous wars, and that, in consequence

thereof, we will be forced seriously to consider a gradual laying down of arms and the establishing of an international court of appeals for the settling of international disputes. Those who object to this, on the score that such a court will never have sufficient authority, do not reason more clearly than a man who denies the value of a criminal law because it can not prevent all murder and theft! Humanity would never have made any progress, if, at every new step, it had let itself be discouraged by the knowledge that this step would not at once lead to the goal. Every goal has been gained by many short steps.

But if there is a thoughtless pessimism about the peace question on the one hand, there is thoughtless optimism on the other. It is the extollers of this who take an international organization and a higher plane of thought, that does not yet exist, for granted. They build their surety of our future safety on something that is non-existing. They still continue to consider themselves commissioned to enjoin us to disarm, though this war has proved nothing more clearly than that nationalism is still much stronger than the inter-

nationalism on which they rely for the doing away of war. Nothing ought to be more evident to them than that an international law without arms to enforce its verdicts, in case some nation should choose to violate those verdicts would be worthless.

These peace-propagandists help their cause least of all by proclaiming, as they do, that the proletariat have no country to defend.

For just as little as terror—not even the terror of war—can save the world, just as little can hate ever be anything uplifting. Love is the only firm ground for peace, not only love for one's fellowmen, but first of all love of one's country. The trouble has been that those in favour of national defence have scorned the pacifists, and that the pacifists have scorned the champions of preparedness. Each has tried to harm the other as much as possible. Only when there is a real wish for peace in the idea of national defence, and a real wish for defence in the peace-movement, only when the pacifists are actuated, not by a sense of opposition, but by real love for the country, will they gain all hearts. For then we will be building on a foundation of reality instead of building castles in the air. If the

socialists are allowed to have any say towards the establishment of peace at the end of this war, it will be because they have shown with their blood that it was for love of their country that they agitated for a peace-policy, instead of a war-policy. Only when the socialists are strong enough in every country to prevent war can we begin to think of disarming. At present, the socialists have only one way of convincing humanity that it is not from a cowardly fear of hardships, not from a selfish aversion for personal sacrifice, but for sincere moral reasons that they hate war and strive for peace. And this way is gladly and willingly to fulfil their duty of defending their country.

. . . . . .

When the conservatives in every country say of the State, that one ought to serve it in blind obedience and self-sacrifice, it means that the opinions of a minority—or of a single person—must be meekly accepted by the majority. In the case of great Powers democratically ruled this means that one wishes the whole people to accept imperialism, or a policy that tries to increase economical, colo-

nial, and territorial power by every available means, and relies on armaments for defending the power thus acquired, and declares war when this power is threatened. A democracy which, therefore, in reality leads to the same foreign policy as the conservative doctrine just mentioned. In neither case has one sincerely tried to alleviate the need of expansion—that instigates the greater Powers—by a rational restriction of nativity, or an adequate emigration from over-populated countries, or by a far-seeing customs and trade policy.

The idea of the democratic State is, as I said before, the opposite of imperialism. The former seeks to preserve and protect national unity, but wants the nation's growth in power first of all to be the result of inner development and creativeness. The idea of the democratic State implies, therefore, the same difference in relation to an imperial State as intensive cultivation does to extensive. The idea of the democratic State presupposes an ever increasingly democratic self-government by granting the same citizenship to everybody regardless of class or sex.

Socialism has the most clearly defined plat-

form for the democratic State, whereas liberalism has not yet clearly distinguished between democracy and imperialism, and the conservatives generally favour the latter. In the greatest empire, England, the liberals have been in favour of self-government for the different colonies, just as in Sweden during the crisis with Norway they advocated equal rights for Norway. But at present all party programmes are equally vague. Only the future will be able to show whether it will be the socialistic or civilian pacifists, whether it will be the Christian or Non-Christian, whether it will be men or women, who will prove to have the most courage in embracing a democratic, national, non-conquering idea of State. In the discussions of coming peace the most clearly outlined programme has been that of the non-partisan pacifists.

CHAPTER VII

WAR AND GOD

IT is a strange thing that it is the free-thinkers who now uphold the eternal truths of Christianity, whereas many of its official representatives scoff at the attempts to realize the brotherhood of humanity, and at the belief in our progress toward an international solidarity that will make our Christmas wish —peace on earth and goodwill to men—at last come true.

A few members of the clergy—including some Swedish ministers and the Swedish archbishop—have been Christian enough to stand by God in spite of the repeated attempts to make Him a nationalist. That the god of battle is the God of the Old Testament, not of the New ought to be readily seen by any one who has ever prayed with his whole soul,—prayed thinkingly, as Jesus taught us to pray. The very expression "*Our* Father" makes it

clear to us that God is the God of *all* armies, and consequently can not see victory or defeat from the point of view of any of the partakers. To hallow the name of God is the very opposite of degrading it by using it as an official stamp of approval for mass-slaughter in a little corner of the universe. What perception have those who look up at the Milky Way and give glory unto God for this carnage on earth? Have they no idea that the kingdom Jesus taught us to pray for was the kingdom of peace and love, not a worldly power? God's will, that we hope shall be done on earth as in heaven, Jesus expounded in the Sermon on the Mount. The evil from which we pray to be delivered is the power of our lower instincts, therefore all impulses that lead to evil thoughts, words, or actions. Yet nationalism eggs these on to the point of frenzy. When we pray, "Give us this day our daily bread," it does not mean: at the expense of the economical growth of other nations. We call upon God to forgive us our trespasses, and yet each nation claims to be free of national trespasses,—a claim that caused several leaders of the Church to refuse their signature to the Swedish archbishop's truly Christian movement for a timely

peace-agreement.[1] The prayer, "Forgive us our debts," is inseparably coupled with our promise to forgive our debtors. The prayers that are sent on high for the victory over our enemies, or the thanks that are offered for this victory, fall dead to earth again. For he

[1] The Swedish archbishop must have received the answer to his appeal for peace with strange feelings. Especially the answers from the Kaiser's court chaplain in Berlin and the president of the Protestant consistory in Bavaria. They refused to sign the appeal for peace that the archbishop sent out because the conciliatory words, "the future will efface the causes of the war," do not coincide with the German view of the matter. They both assume that it is already definitely proved that Germany was attacked from four sides and declare that she is acting in self-defence and is doing her Christian duty in protecting her life; and that, therefore, a member of the German nation, which has been unjustly attacked and is being fought with lies, should not sanction an utterance that refers to history what is already clearly proved, namely Germany's entire freedom from any part in the cause of this world-war.

The archbishop could hardly have received a more thorough confirmation of the words in his appeal: "What are we to think when Christians amongst one or the other nation join together and take God as a witness of their moral superiority and cry out to their Christian brothers in other countries, We are without fault; you alone are at fault? I shall not waste printer's ink on what I alone have heard from different sides of what is said in God's temple."

He tells this much, however, that a church in Paris reverberated with applause at the preacher's reminder that in England the Germans were preached against as Anti-Christ, and that in Germany the thunder from the pulpit vies with that of the cannons.

who lays a gift on the altar must first be reconciled with his brother, if his prayer is to reach God.

It is more than twenty years now since I, for the sake of honesty, declared that we, or the community, had no right to call ourselves Christian as long as we would not take the principal teachings of Christianity seriously. These are: fellow-feeling and unselfishness, the straight and narrow path that leads to life, whereas the other great principle of life, self-preservation—manifested as individual or national self-assertion—can never be put in the first place if we live according to the spirit of Christ's teachings. Just because Christianity, honestly lived, does not allow individual or national self-assertion at the expense of others, I have denied that Christianity is generally applicable for all conditions, for all individuals, and for all nations. It is a strange experience that I now live to hear some of my former assailants, who criticized me amongst other things for my so-called enmity to Christianity take the side that proclaims the unconditional justification of selfish motives where they take the form of nationalism in this world-war.

But this is not all. The same people who cried "blasphemer" when I spoke of Christianity as being relative, now declare—notwithstanding they still consider themselves truly Christian—that nothing in the Lord's prayer can be realized on earth, that we must postpone it—till eternity!

For the nation, therefore, they unconditionally choose the principle of self-protection and self-assertion, for which any means are considered legitimate. It is so evident that such a principle, carried out within the separate states, would lead us backward to a condition of barbaric anarchy, that it ought to be a good reason for carefully considering whether it is more impossible to overcome anarchy between the countries than within them.

If anything is a "naïve simplification" of a great problem, it is the nationalist's way of taking for granted that war on earth must be eternal. Tolstoy and other truly Christian pacifists have simplified this great problem just as naïvely. The only real solution I and many others have spoken of for decades is a gradually and painfully achieved harmony between the equally justified principles of self-assertion and self-sacrifice,—a harmony

that for the individual is the deepest problem of salvation, and for the nation the foremost cultural problem. During certain phases of the life of individuals as well as of nations, first the one, then the other principle gets the upper hand. We attain most, as individuals or as nations, when there is a state of balance between the two.

In the lives of the nations we find the principal milestones at the crossways where a right that had no power, or a power that had no right, meets its complement, so that right becomes powerful, and power becomes rightful.

The tragical contradiction in the question of modern man and war is that the State has trained man to obey the law at the sacrifice of unchecked personal "right," whereas the State itself acts according to the lower moral that makes might right.

The problem is: whether to make individuals and nations submit only to such restrictions as will *permanently* further their liberty in a *truer* sense. The traditional way of reasoning is that one must always choose between might *or* right, but if one believes in the possibilities of life and human nature he sees no reason why the freedom of the individual must be

bought at the expense of the community or why a nation should not be perfectly organized along productive lines without suppressing its individual members.

A man with faith in life does not let himself be comforted for the awful miseries of this world, whether they take the form of war or other things, by references to eternity.

He believes, as Goethe did, that "life itself is the meaning of life." In other words, he believes that the problems, of nations as well as of individuals, must be solved here on earth, and first of all the problems of the final blending of self-assertion and self-sacrifice. This is the task of life on earth, and it cannot be put off to "eternity," as it is just the earthly problems that we have to solve in this *wink of eternity*. It is the old illusion that eternity is just on the other side of this life that causes so much confusion in this respect. Our life on earth *is* that part of eternity that *we* determine by our conscious actions. Of what was before, of what comes after, we know nothing. All that we know is that *our task as beings of eternity is at present confined to earth.* We who maintain that this task is to further a course of progress whereby brute force gives

way, and strength becomes a power for good, work not only according to the laws of culture and Christianity but according to the deepest meaning of eternity!

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He who has truly conceived the spirit of Jesus must during this time of prayers and bloodshed constantly have seen His image as Leonardo portrayed it, with sorrow-quivering mouth and humbly lowered eyes at the deed of Judas. In the ears of every true Christian the words from Victor Rydberg's great poem *Prometheus* must have rung:

> An endless stream of blood to purge the dross
> —God of my heart, why are we crucifying?
> Why on the trunk of north and south are lying
> The arms of east and west that make thy cross?

The only possibility of giving unto God what is due unto God in time of war is by the humility that finds expression in the words of a truly great leader, Abraham Lincoln. When asked by a fellow-Christian whether he were sure that God was with him, his answer was:

"I have never thought of that. All I want to know is: Am I with God?"

Hardly any one will want to claim that the present war is one of those that are fought for God's sake; in other words, that was necessary for some great, redeeming cause. We do not even believe any more in the necessity of war for the victory of a cause. For we believe—and we share our belief with the Utopian Jesus—that the human race can be redeemed. We are too devout to be satisfied with humanity as it is. We burn with a holy passion to change the face of the earth. We know that we are God's hands when it comes to realizing the Christmas promise.

We understand that those who in this life see only the blind struggle of nature—in other words, those that honestly call themselves godless—cannot hope for the conquest of the brute instinct in humanity, or for the awaking of the Holy Ghost, and that they, therefore, feel sure that war will last until the end of the world. But how are those minds constructed that obstinately try to combine this idea with the assumption that they are the regenerators of Christianity and idealism; and who think themselves the chosen teachers of a new, anti-individualistic morality, and at the same time throw the portals wide for Might to enter?

Strangest of all is their pretension that they are presenting a new truth. Already Darius cut the watchword of power in a cliff: "He who has favoured me him have I favoured, he who has opposed me him have I destroyed."

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This selfish power that tries to enslave the individuals under authority for its ends, at one time was in the nature of religious coercion. The Swedish people under the leadership of Gustavus Adolphus belonged at that time to the Promethean flock who took up the fight against a god of might and won as much individual freedom in religion and thought as was possible for that age.

Nowadays people are so blunted that they do not discern the god of might in the voice that speaks through the modern doctrine that "State principle" is higher than right. A great many young people scoff at the fight

. . . for that which ought to be

and sanction the terrible reality that is. And in Sweden it is just these people who at the annual celebrations in memory of Gustavus

Adolphus speak most loudly of the ideal cause for which he died. Yet, in the new fight for justice they do not recognize the same ideals for which Gustavus Adolphus, under another aspect, gave his life.

No holy dissatisfaction at the thought of letting life slip by without helping humanity on its upward way has ever troubled the self-satisfaction of those who simply refer the problems to eternity, when the earthly disharmonies become too jarring even for their ears! With this cheap gesture, they think that they prove their own idealism, whereas we who believe that idealism is first of all *working* for our ideals, are called materialists, because we do not point to heaven but to our own foreheads and hearts as the place where these disharmonies will eventually be solved.

The gentlemen who now pose as God's consulting cabinet scorn our views as being too earth-bound, and our way of looking upon development is called "frog-perspective." For them the only true idealism is blind obedience to the State-idea that the leaders of the people agitate—which is at present the altering of the map of the world by war.

These learned men, who sit at their desks

and play at map-adjusting, whilst the peoples do the same by the help of mortars and million armies, congratulate themselves that their new map will put an end to the foolish Utopian idea that "Peace on earth" will ever be possible—as God's obvious wish is war on earth. One may here remind these men of Oscar Wilde's words:

> A map of the world that does not include Utopia is not worth even glancing at, for it leaves out the one country at which Humanity is always landing. And when Humanity lands there it looks out, and, seeing a better country sets sail. Progress is the realization of Utopias.

We find our perspective higher when we, instead of accepting things as they are, pit our burning desire for justice, kindness, truth, and beauty here on earth against them, and refuse to honour the drafts on eternity. We believe that the highest desires of our souls are revelations of the God of eternity, yea, that the desire for growth that is synonymous with life is *the only indisputable revelation of the trend of Universal life.* All those who devote themselves with religious fervour to the transformation of life on earth possess this

new faith. They believe that it is the wicked will of man, not the will of God, that causes war and that, therefore, the transformation of the will of man would cause war to cease. This new will does not imply the sacrifice of any national values or State ideals, but, on the contrary, the passionate certainty of being able to maintain and preserve the essential values and serve the ideals. He who confuses the individualistic demand for a voice in the question of the national goal, for which one is to sacrifice himself, with egotistical indifference to the mother country, has never experienced the great moment, never realized the highest flight of our soul, when our conscience faces everything and everybody alone and chooses its own way to serve country or ideals.

Only he who has experienced this knows where the boundary between the duty of obedience and self-will lies. Only he knows that the higher law that Christianity gave to man—"For what is a man profited if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" —also holds good for the soul of the nation.

It is high time that we make our choice between the teachings of national might and our patriotic right, between Ahasuerus and

Prometheus, between Asia and Europe, or to use the words of Gustavus Adolphus, between the devil and God. As the way is at present laid out, it leads straight to the national self-effacement against which the nationalists have, with justified pathos, warned us. The State idea that puts the responsibility and leadership of the people's fate in their own hands is the only one that is truly Western.

Socialism has the great historical task of righting the individual one-sidedness of liberalism by creating a *social* democracy. This can never come about by a reversion to the anti-parliamentary idea of State. It can only be brought about by a constant perfecting of the democratic State-idea, by demanding that the sacrifice of all individual freedom be for the sake of the people as a whole, not for a class or a chosen few.

In every age and in every country the conservative Statecraft has been, and is, the suppressing of all thought, all beliefs, and all languages not acknowledged by the State. The goal of social and radical democracy is the highest development of the special gifts of each member of the State, so that they may serve the State therewith, and in the best

possible way receive the privilege of unrestricted personal activity even in the sphere of State.

Nationalism still believes it is doing its duty to the country by fighting social democracy and radicalism. The aim of patriotism, to exchange ever increasingly the outward authority of the State over the individual for *individual freedom, coupled with responsibility*, is the only true way of creating an ethical foundation for the functions of State. For this reason patriotism seeks to produce citizens with *individual, instead of uniform, development*, who subject themselves with a free will to the aims and means of the functions of the State that they, as voting citizens, have chosen. It is base to be driven by blind obedience to duty along ways one has not chosen and towards goals one does not sanction. Anyone who reads history rightly knows that self-determination has been of more value than rulership, not only because it furthers the happiness of the individual, but also for the permanency and development of the State. Anyone who reads history rightly knows that the opposition—whether of individuals or classes, or a parliamentary minority—to exist-

ing conditions has always been the first beginning of progress towards a higher condition, or new development, that has afterwards proved to be of the greatest national value.

But this does not imply that we can do without the virtues that the present State has fostered and that are now being taken over from the military State by the socialists. Solidarity, discipline, and the subordination of the individual to the whole will always be necessary as a foundation for every kind of states-building, every co-operation for social purposes. But in the democratic State they will be the foundation for a superstructure entirely different from that in the imperialistic State, which is now considered to be the latest and finest style of State-architecture.

The democratic State also sacrifices the individual's freedom, but as a means to its final end for the freedom, development, and happiness of all the individuals that constitute the nation. In the imperialistic State the individual's freedom, development, and happiness is sacrificed so that the State shall have military and economical advantage over other countries. As surely as it has for thousands of years been shown that a State must be

military so long as it aims at political and economic competition, as surely is it the gigantic task of social democracy politically and economically to organize the world so that each nation may attain its place in the sun without militarism.

The future of Europe, as I have emphasized before, will depend to a great extent on whether the social democrats and pacifists will after the war continue and succeed in their fully justified opposition to the nationalism that has called forth this war,—an opposition towards which they ought to have gained a hundredfold in strength because of the patriotism they have proved by deeds in this war. Already in the beginning of the war the deep difference between the socialist-pacifist idea of a coming peace and that upheld by the nationalistic leaders made itself felt. The final tests of patriots will come after a victory. If their emancipation from nationalism is a reality, they may, perhaps, be of some weight in the settling of a peace-treaty that safeguards future world-peace. If, on the other hand, peace is made according to the doctrine of might, it will be only the second act in the drama of Europe's downfall, of which this

war is the first. All the European forces that serve a *higher* cause, all *great* statecraft, all *enlightened* public conscience must unite to protect the individual nations from violation. That every national unity must for the present safeguard itself and that national defence is imperative—disarming being remote—is a truth the advocation of which is the more effective the freer it is kept from reactionary elements. And the reaction comes when a nation that has acquired freedom and justice begins to bow down to power and to see in unconditional subservience to the idea of Empire the polar star which the individual conscience should steer!

To those of us who were young forty years ago and now live to see the people of the West at war again, these forty years are a considerable part of a life during which we hoped to see so many great victories of humanization. But we know that forty years are only seconds in the course of a development that has millions of years behind it and millions of years before it. All of us who must die without experiencing the realization of the dreams of our youth wish, at least, to keep our belief in the ultimate victory of humanization.

For this belief is one with the belief that the life of man on earth has an *eternal* meaning. Both those who see this eternal meaning in the light of Christianity, and those who surmise it in another light can meet in this belief, a belief that entirely coincides with the words of the Bible: "Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen."

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Many of those who now tremble with indignation, weep with pity, brood in sorrow, over all the suffering, all the horrors that people known or unknown have to go through, are not satisfied to work for the future only. They wish to act now. They ask themselves if there are no means of stopping the war now? Like the Pope, the Swedish archbishop has, in vain, appealed to the Christians. The twelve million suffragettes of the world tried to intervene at the beginning of the war; one paid no attention to them then; how much less would it be the case now, when they come with their Hague appeal. Even the strong manifests of the socialists against the war were ignored.

No, not until the world-conflagration has consumed everything that is combustible, not until one nation has won, or all have bled to death will we be able to speak of peace. Then, perhaps, a co-operation between the true Christians, the women, the socialists, and the pacifists for the sake of peace will be possible. This ought to be along those lines, which peace-lovers in England, Holland, and Germany have already suggested, that go straight to the nearest goal: *lessened* possibilities for war, and *increased* possibilities for peace. This is all one can expect to attain for the present. Even if the socialistic plans for reorganizing production and exchange within and between the nations were already realized, nationalistic competition might still lead to war.

The foundation for world-peace is, and must be, a ceaseless, steadfast striving for a *soul-culture*, that alone can transform nationalism into patriotism. It is first and last by *this* extremely slow method that women will be able to hinder future war and further future peace.

CHAPTER VIII

WOMEN AND WAR

A CHRISTMAS such as that of 1914 or of 1915 no one now living has ever experienced. We older people have, to be sure, more than once heard the Christmas greeting "Peace on earth" simultaneously with the rumbling echoes of a war somewhere in the world. But no one has seen such a mockery of the Christmas message as the present world-war. I wonder if undivided Christmas joy was possible for any but the hearts of little children?

For us small nations in the north Christmas joy was principally gratitude that peace still blessed our countries, that no blood stained our snow, that no flames coloured the heavens, that hundreds of thousands of homes could still gather their members round the hearth to celebrate old customs and memories.

But the hundred thousand women that prepared for Christmas in these homes could

not do it with the usual childlike wholehearted delight. When they filled the cupboards with Yuletide fare, when they polished the Yuletide vessels, when they garlanded the family portraits, they thought the while with aching hearts of all those whose inheritances are laid waste, and who have no roof under which to meet for festive gathering.

The country women who extend their kindly ministrations to the beasts in the stable were not able to tend them for Yule without thinking of all those families who had lost these their faithful friends. When the women saw their children with beaming faces and soft little hands stretched out to the Christmas tree, their own eyes became veiled with tears at the thought of the thousands of children who have been separated from their parents.

When the women saw their men-folk gathered from far and wide round the Yule-board, they could not meet their friendly glances without a feeling of heart-ache. For they saw before them the countless women who at the same moment sat staring at empty places, —places that would never be filled again, or filled only by cripples or invalids. And if a woman leaned caressingly over some bent old

head, the tears would fall on the white hairs at the thought of all the old people who have been forced to totter out of their homes, where they lived in safety and plenty, on some wild war-night to become refugees and beggars.

Where there were children—children, who need smiles—women, perhaps, found the courage to smile. But otherwise, what woman could smile, unless she were one of those who are capable of feeling only for their own narrow family circle?

The words of the old hymn—

> . . . like a ship that storm has driven
> Swiftly onto unknown reefs—

have been fulfilled as never before. Who could dream in the beginning of 1914 in what a world we would find ourselves before its close? Could even those who prepared for this war foresee its horrors? Would they then have had the courage to unchain it?

And still we see no glimpse of the tragedy's end. Those who believe that the coming peace will be permanent seem to me to lack sufficient reasons for their hope. It will not

be until after the conclusion of peace, when the tension that war has caused must naturally give way, that the extremely slow work for lasting peace can begin to make headway. The greater part of this work will be indirect and will be realized through the *experience of the effects of war on the people as a whole.* These experiences, so far as the peoples of Europe are concerned, will undermine the habit of thought that is behind the dogma of the necessity and benefit of war for the community.

The manner in which women will digest these experiences both during and after the war is of great importance for the future. The thoughts and feelings of women may become an undercurrent that breaks the ice formed by the habit of thought over man's feelings for, and opinions about, war. The only ray of light we can now discern is the beginning on the part of woman of hate toward war. An Austrian mother with a twenty-year-old son at the front recently wrote:

Es trägt mein Herz so schwer
An dem blutigen Weh dieses Krieges;
Es wird nicht heiter, nicht froh
Von keiner Kunde des Sieges.

Ich hör nur die Tränenströme
Aus Augen von Bräuten und Müttern;
Das Schluchzen des Gottes der Liebe—
Oh, mög' es die Welt erschüttern![1]

Woman's *holy revolt against war* will be one of the many ways that will lead to the certainty that some day will insure a peace-policy: the certainty that whatever the nations may gain by the present war, it can never afford compensation for what they have lost through the war.

If the war were fought by the degenerates of the nations, then there would be some sense in the talk that wars raise the standards of nations. But as war spills the best blood, it lowers the national standard to such a degree that—were not women excluded from the service of war, and the best blood, therefore, on their side spared—from the point of view of human material such a war would

[1] "My heart is weighed down
By the bloody hurt of this war;
It is not gladdened, it gets no cheer
From any news of victory.
I hear only the surging tears
That pour from the eyes of wives and mothers;
The sobs of the god of love—
Oh, that they might shatter the world!"

be fatal even to the future of the *victorious* nation. This is one of the spheres in which women must begin their revolt against the misleading doctrine that war is beneficial to the race and the community.

Never did this doctrine seem more shallow to me than when during the midsummer of 1915 I saw the promise of harvest on our fields. Beyond these fields I saw others that now bear no harvests, that are furrowed by trenches, covered with concrete; with their fertile soil swept away by shot, that will not only be fallow this year, nay, but for years to come will bear no bread for man, just as the sight of the handsome, vigorous youths of our country, gathered together in every village to celebrate midsummer, was a painful reminder of conditions amongst the people of the warring countries. The deaths of millions of young men will leave wives and brides lonely for the remainder of their lives; other wives and brides will have to receive their loved ones as cripples, blind, or sick of body or mind; men who, even if they still can become the fathers of healthy children, can seldom do their full duty in providing for, and educating, a family.

In the face of these indisputable results of war the still much-heard justification of war —that it is a necessary drift for the development of man—must inexorably fall. Those who according to Darwin's theory of the struggle for existence consider war as one of the forms of this struggle, afterwards draw the conclusion that, as it is the fittest animals and plants that survive in their struggle for existence, the nation that is victorious in war has, therefore, proved that it is the most fit to live. But those who reason thus forget that it is not the weak, but the strongest that are sent to war. Therefore, even a victorious nation loses so many of its finest men that the downfall of a nation has probably often begun with its very victory!

Every once in a while we find some advocate of race-culture who in the midst of the war-frenzy reminds his countrymen of this fact. The English scientist, C. W. Saleeby, for instance, as early as last autumn wrote a pamphlet about "The longest cost of war": race-degeneration. He referred to scientists—amongst them the celebrated German, Mommsen—who now considers the chief reason for the decline of Rome to be the incessant

wars that killed off the flower of its manhood. Saleeby sees with sadness the large masses of fine youths practising in the different parks of London being watched by crowds of the less fit. It is these latter, Saleeby says, who are left at home to propagate the race, whilst a great number of the finest young men from all classes now preparing for war will leave no offspring to the country.

The same views have recently been emphasized by a German doctor, Paul Kammerer, of Vienna. He points out that the political war and the struggle for existence in nature have nothing in common; in several respects are even opposed to each other. The war-inciters, he continues, who speak of war as an inevitable and necessary part of the struggle for existence claim that war furthers healthy selection through the sifting away of the weaklings, whereas the fit withstand the test. If this were true, the war-enthusiasts would be justified in their claim that war is an excellent means of selection. But, says Kammerer, the exact opposite is in reality the case. To be sure, war sifts the chaff from the wheat, but it is the wheat that is destroyed. War causes a contra-selection,

that is, it furthers the survival of the defective. On the scene of battle it is often the cowardly, the treacherous, who save themselves, and behind the front the weak and wanting sit in security. Already armed peace has the effect of contra-selection in so much that by conscription it prevents the flower of young manhood from marrying at the most propitious time.

One has now, continues Kammerer, begun to replace the theory of war as furthering the selection of *individuals* with the theory that it furthers the selections of *nations*. One admits that victory nips the tops of even the victorious nations. The final result, one still, however, believes, is that the strongest and most able nation wins the victory and a place in the sun for its creative energy.

In answer to this assertion Kammerer points out that, although it is the strongest military nation, or the nation with the greatest numbers, that wins, it does not follow that the victorious nation will be the most valuable contributor in the fields of culture; on the contrary, efficiency in war, and in cultural ways, are often widely separated, and the finest, relatively, are not always

the best, absolutely speaking. He touches, also, on the saying that the losses of war are soon made good by the increase in nativity after war. This idea is founded on the assumption that the less fertile families die out with the only son, who falls in the war, whereas in families with more offspring some sons may return to propagate the family and the inherited disposition to fertility will, in turn, be shown by their large families. One further points out that the decrease in competition—through the many deaths—and the economic prosperity that victory brings, result in more frequent marriages as well as more children. But this increase will always, from the point of view of race, be in the least desirable classes. The *number* of offspring and the *value* of offspring are seldom in direct ratio to each other. From the point of view of race-culture the increase of population after a war is, therefore, no cause for felicitation.

Thus far Kammerer.

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After the war woman's prospects from the viewpoint of her natural duty—motherhood—will be dark indeed.

A much larger number than the now already too large number of women will have to dismiss all thought of marriage. The number of those who lead immoral lives and are childless, or who bear illegitimate children, will, therefore, increase. Others, from a sense of patriotic duty to which one has already tried to appeal, may marry invalids. How many of these will not be disappointed in their most justified wishes for happiness! Those women who have chosen amongst the men who are rejected from military service quite often have defective children. The possibilities for millions of women who are now in their best years to marry will grow less and less. For every day that passes the number of young men who might return from the war without severe bodily or mental injuries grow fewer and fewer—not to mention the millions who never return. And, lastly, the higher the development of women, the more they suffer from the "patriotic" mandate to bear many children to replace the nation's losses. For they know that from the point of view of their personal development as well as that of the race, *fewer* but *better* children are to be preferred.

If the future, therefore, is dark for the women of the warring countries, how much darker is the present! Apart from all the women who, directly or indirectly, have been killed by the war before becoming wives or mothers, there are all those who have borne children during the horrors of war,—children that died soon after birth; there are those who have been separated from children whom they will probably never recover; there are those who bear the children of the invading enemy. And, further, there are all the women who have lost their fathers and children; all the widows, all the homeless, that war has created. Any one who considers this carefully must admit that it is not only the top of the nation that gets blighted by war. No, war has the same effect on the tree of the race as the act of mischievous boys has on the birch-trees when they tap their sap in the spring.

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Besides these points that are of special significance to women in the war against war, there is another sphere where they have sadly neglected to wage this war, and that is in educa-

tion. In order to overcome the spirit that creates war, mothers must begin in the tender years of childhood to teach children that right must be the foundation of all might, that authority can be exercised without the help of fists. How often does not "big brother" grab "little brother's" plaything, because big brother is "the oldest," or little brother wheedle away big brother's playthings because he is the "littlest"? If the mother is wise, she will defend each one's right, but this is of small avail, if the children as a rule are left to the care of a nurse who lets the children do a hundred times that which the mother has only ten chances of correcting. It is the incessant falling of the drop that hollows out the stone; it is the endlessly repeated experience that, at last, causes a principle of right to enter flesh and blood. It is a never-ceasing resistance that gradually tames the predatory instincts in children.

Nor have women themselves been inspired by that sublime patriotism to which children should be educated. Quite recently I read that one of the most prominent women in Germany took great satisfaction in the spontaneous patriotism of a little girl who on

hearing the shop girl call a hat that had delighted her "English straw" immediately refused to wear it; not even when she was assured that the hat was not English, but was only *called* English, would she have it. So long as similar expressions of narrow-mindedness are called patriotism, and so long as women take pains to demonstrate them, they have not the faintest idea of how to wage war against war.

When the children begin to grow up, the mother must teach them that mutual help between individuals and nations is as surely a natural law as mutual competition. Above all, children must be impressed with the fact that the greatest heroes are those who fight to help others, not those who fight for power or glory. They must be made to understand that victory does not prove that the thing fought for is right, nor that defeat proves that a cause is wrong. But the one who educates must first and foremost seek to conquer all domineering and revengeful feelings in himself, if he is to cleanse the souls of his children of these passions. Unfortunately, the love of the mother country has shown far too much of the reverse side of the

shield, the ugly colours of which are arrogance and hatred. The souls of many children in the warring countries have become poisoned by the passions of their parents. Whatever phase these passions take, the danger to the children is equally great. Peace-loving women, who are afraid of war-games, need not fear so much from these as from the mental influence of the elders. So long as war exists, boys will play at war just as surely as country-boys will play at farming. Only when their elders use the war-games as a means of exciting a warring spirit in children, are they detrimental to the idea of peace.

With this we come to the most difficult problem for the lovers of peace: how to make the distinction between the *desire for defence* and the *desire for war*, how to keep the former alive without egging on the latter. Experience shows, however, that sensible educators have been able to solve the problem, which for the present belongs to those that can not be evaded, as the will and ability to defend itself is still a necessary condition for the life of a nation.

But women must not only burn with the holy desire—as never before—to implant peace

in the soul. No, they must also unite in the desire to enlarge the sphere where right may get the better of might. And in order to attain this, they must take up the fight against the age-old idea of the gulf between the duties of man and those of woman. This idea was very naïvely expressed in one of this year's Christmas pictures. From an artistic point of view this picture was entirely worthless, but it gave more food for thought than many a more valuable picture. It shows a soldier at his post in a snowy forest, looking into a ring of light in which he sees his distant home, where wife and children are gathered round the Christmas tree, the boy dressed as a soldier, the girl with a doll on her arm. Both, therefore, express that trend of thought that will make them, some day, what their parents are now, a sorrowing wife and a soldier awaiting his death. Such has been the division of work for ages. Women have given life, men have taken each other's lives: men have defended their own and destroyed the homes of others. This condition of affairs has seemed to humanity so ordained that it has never even been questioned.

And it would, to be sure, be detrimental

to the race if the division of duties were changed that make women look within and men look without in their work for the community. But if we wish to create a new world without continuing in the old circle where women bear and bring up children to be destroyed on the field of battle, women must arise and *hold together* in the will to make an end of this state of affairs that has for century after century made the goal of their mother love and mother labours so meaningless. It is madness to try, in times of peace, to produce a more and more virile race only to let it be buried in the graves of the battle-fields.

The only sensible thing would be to try and lessen the brutality of human competition; to create an order of affairs where the rights of nations were protected by a power that used law, not force, as a means; to give women a voice in the ruling of the country for which they bear and bring up the coming generation.

The characteristics that are now scornfully called feminine—as the apostles of might are ashamed to call them Christian in the same breath that they denounce them—were in the springtime of Christianity active in the

suppression of violence. If these assets are again to hold violence at bay, it will be only through the power of women to make them living again, living not only in the souls of men but in the growth and intergrowth of the communities.

During the year of war that has now vanished with its bloody tatters into the night of the past something has taken place that has become symbolical to me of the possibilities of the future.

In October, 1914, fifty-five delegates from different countries—amongst them some from all the warring countries—met in Rome for the customary international congress of agricultural sciences. Whilst the earth was being watered with blood, fertilized with corpses, ploughed up by shells, it was the solicitude for the primary need of man, food, that in the midst of the world-war gathered together representatives even from the warring countries.

Will not the day come when the solicitude for *motherhood* will bring together representatives from all humanity? The concern of the two great preserving and upholding powers of life—the mother and the earth—must

some day be given the foremost place of attention in the community.

Women have long enough been treated as the earth. The earth that was expected to endure forever, and yet untiringly give. Man learned long ago that this was a mistake as regards the earth. So long as women are patient and passive, men will make the same mistake, in letting their great gifts be endlessly misused. But this war is quickly bringing woman to the end of her patience.

Woman—as the earth—has, war after war, shown her power to renew what war has destroyed.

And so they will this time. But will it be without reservation? Will not hundreds of thousands of women have come to realize that it is their national duty to procure for themselves the right in their turn to control the destinies of themselves and their children? That men alone are not capable of doing this ought to have been amply proved during this war by the men themselves.

When women have gained a voice in these decisions, the living human material that is now ruthlessly sacrificed for so-called purposes of State will be accounted the greatest

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riches of the State. To protect, increase, and improve, this source of strength will be the foremost object of statecraft. And at the same time the peace question will become *burningly actuel*, and it will have to become the aim of polities to solve this problem instead of the problem of armaments.

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This is the only gleam of hope for the future that, so far, I can discover. This hope has no other foundation than my faith in the inmost strength of woman's nature. If the motherliness of woman is not so incensed by this war that it causes a mass-rising against the injustice of woman's position, then I don't know from what source we may expect salvation. It is for the hope of the future existence and bloom of their nation that men now give their lives. Women's aim is the same, but they see more and more distinctly that humanity must seek new means of attaining this end.

But to attain this it is imperative that women cease to sanction the kind of patriotism that so far has hindered these new thoughts and new agencies from being practically tried. Or, as I wrote to the International

Woman's Congress in The Hague, in April, 1915:

To you women the ideals that the men of your country defend and fight for seem great and holy. But you would not be gathered here for the cause of peace if you did not put the cause of *humanity* before that of your country. And this presupposes that you do not consider it right that a country acts in opposition to international law in order to protect, or gain advantages for, itself.

You oppose the nationalistic teaching that says: when the welfare of my country demands it, wrong becomes right. You wish to put all your strength in the furtherance of an organized peace based on international law, because you realize that armed peace causes war. You wish for national reconciliation instead of national hate.

Therefore my sincere prayer to you is: that you *work*, each of you in your own country, against the unfortunate misconception that patriotism *bids* us sanction every act of our country; that we deny our country's part in the outbreak of war, and that we excuse our country's unjust actions during war.

Your prospects of attaining your noble aims depends on the ability of every country to criticize and judge itself—instead of, as now, only judging the enemy. Try, therefore, to counteract the impression that every criticism of your country by neutral countries is a sign of enmity or an insult.

Teach your people to understand that the friend

who has the courage to show us our faults, and not only praise our virtues, is the most sincere, yea, that no sincere friendship can exist without honest self-criticism. A reconciliation between nations, as between individuals, must be founded on mutual self-criticism, and no hands can be stretched out with the true gift of peace so long as they cling to national self-justification.

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Each one of us must, first and last, look within himself for peace on earth. But he must be poor indeed who in this world of war can comfort himself with the saying:

"Look within thy heart for the peace the world denies thee," a consolation that knows no desire for a better future.

The self-approval that each of us experiences when he has made peace and cleansed himself of the hemming influences of hardness and suspicion, hatred and revenge, will be experienced by the nations when their vitality is no longer undermined in a similar way. Even if we can not imagine the soul of a nation as cleansed from these passions as the individual soul may become through its own efforts, we must each of us, in so much as we love our home, our family, our friends, our country,

work for the victory of light over darkness. We women must put our hearts in the great strength-giving feeling of *oneness with our kind.*

This feeling is something quite different to *fellow-feeling.* One has spoken of the increase of fellow-feeling as one of the good effects of war. But have we not already seen that fellow-feeling has gradually lessened?

The psychological rule that suffering—even in the form of sympathy—can only be felt to a certain point, after which sensitiveness is dulled, has been demonstrated by the earthquakes in Italy during the winter of 1914. This devastation, these hundred thousand lost lives, have been accepted with a calm that borders on indifference. The destruction of Messina —and later the loss of the *Titanic*—occupied our minds and the press for months. But our fellow-feeling is now so used up by the war that, at a distance at least, the disaster in Italy has hardly been noticed. Only one thing has made a deep impression, and that is the emphasizing of the fact that blind nature, for the present at least, is superior to man in its destructiveness. For man has had to use a great deal of capital, a great deal of pains,

intelligence, and time, to accomplish similar conditions to those just described, whereas nature accomplished it all in half a minute. The "art" of war will hardly grant nature this superiority in dispatch, but will, no doubt, "perfect" itself until it breaks the record in this respect also!

There are people who are beginning to be as indifferent as is nature. There are German women who are proud of the sinking of the *Lusitania*. And there are even women in neutral countries who have defended it!

Woman's sympathy is nothing to be depended upon so long as it subjects itself to the teaching of nationalism that force is right, and that the ends justify the means,—so long as women with enthusiasm embrace a form of patriotism that must be overcome, if life is ever to reach a higher plane.

Woman has, since of old, been conservative; she has clung to accepted values and rightly. But the present is always a bridge that connects the past with the future, so that we may find our way to both. Many have destroyed the bridge before them so that they can only go back. And there are certainly worthy people amongst these who have thus remained in

the past. But those women—as well as those men—are most needed who have strengthened the bridge between that which was and that which shall be. It is these who have made the words of E. G. Geijer, the great Swedish poet, their own:

Forward—the law of destiny!

The destiny not only of your own individual self, but of your people and of humanity!

CHAPTER IX

WOMEN AND WORLD-PEACE

SINCE the war began one has read endless descriptions of the last moments of those who die in the fields and in the hospitals. Their last words have often been the heart-rending cry, or the faint moan: "Mother, Mother!"

This cry seems to me symbolical of the despair that has filled many men with a feeling of impotence before the horrors of war. They call, above all, on the mothers, that is, on woman in general, to save the world from these horrors.

The one man believes that if all women in all countries—even the warring ones—prayed for peace it would come. Another believes that if women had the vote, they would be able to carry a peace-policy. A third believes that if the women should turn to the expedient that Aristophanes had in an earlier age suggested, of refusing to bear children, war

would become impossible. And as these men speak, even more women speak. But is it possible that thoughtful men and women really believe that the majority of women to-day would fulfil their expectations?

To begin with, the women in the warring countries are just as passionately convinced as the men that the fight must be carried on until their own country wins, "if it costs them their last drop of blood and their last penny." The letters, for instance, that women write from both Germany and France are as alike as if they had been written by the same people. Every appeal to the women of the combating countries would be scornfully rejected.

As to suffrage I for one also believe that it would enlist the wills of many good women for a peace-creating policy. But we ought certainly to know, through observation of this war, that there are great numbers of women nationalistically inclined. These have not only wanted national protection of their country—all women should wish for this—they have worked for the "national" rallying and defence by taking part in the civil war during which one has used the dumdum bullets that both Christianity and civilization forbid:

lies and false witness; careless repetition and thoughtless acceptance of rumour! These thousands of women have slandered the names of worthy patriots. Nationalistically inclined women, during the crisis of the Scandinavian union, egged on war. They talked of the nation becoming stagnant because of the hundred years of peace. Some are saying to-day that Sweden should give up her neutrality. Does any one believe that the vote would make peace-champions of these women?

As to the strike of motherhood, one need waste no words on its impracticability. Especially as regards the warring countries it is easier to believe that patriotic self-sacrifice could move women to accept polygamy than that they should neglect the much-preached duty to give as many sons as possible back to the mother country. And from the point of view of nationalism nothing is more important. Every State that relies on its war-preparedness for its power, honour, and glory must look upon its mothers with the same eyes as the first Napoleon, of whom someone has said that "he looked as if he wished to rive new war material out of the wombs of the mothers."

No, to bear many sons, and devote their best years to the upbringing of these sons; and with head held high and burning heart see them march forth to be torn to pieces,—this is what women in all countries will be called upon to endure until the public conscience is no longer hypnotized by the *nationalistic* idea of a nation's power and glory.

But when we face the principal question whether and how such a transformation of conscience is to be brought about, then we are forced, in spite of their nationalism, to put our otherwise helpless and hopeless trust in them.

For the present time has shown us that a new spirit—though in many cases only half conscious—is beginning to awaken in woman.

First and foremost we see that, whereas men in the warring countries have let loose their passion of national hatred in a way that one had begun to consider impossible for civilized humanity, no woman of any *note* has let herself be misled to such an outpouring. On the contrary, there seems in their words to be an echo of Antigone's saying: "For I was born to love and not to hate."

We have heard many tales of women's kind-

ness to the wounded of the enemy. That a few hysterical women from the lowest ranks of the population have committed atrocities on the enemy is no reason for changing one's mind about woman's favourable attitude on the whole. The conclusive question is whether amongst the educated women culture is so deep-rooted that it has prevented their national delirium from taking as low a form as that of the men of their class. And—so far as I know—this has been the case.

It seems to me as if this present world-war has made true the really womanly words of Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach—the greatest living authoress in the field of German language:

Oh, sag' nicht fremder Krieg! Ein Krieg ist niemals fremd![1]

There has never, I believe, since the heroic age of Christianity, been a flow of human sympathy to be compared with what we women of neutral countries feel for those of the warring countries. And I have the impression that even the women of the warring countries feel

[1] "Oh, say not foreign war! A war is never foreign."

for one another. But it is not only sympathy between women that has grown in these months; but also the wish to procure for themselves the *right* to a say in the politics—that by and through the war—threatens all their efforts for social betterment. This work had enlisted the efforts of many women during peace, efforts that, directly or indirectly, tended to heighten national life, to care, bodily and spiritually, for the younger generation. The women of the warring countries not only sorrow with their personal grief. They sorrow for their labours, that are buried with the million bodies that fill the battle-fields, the trenches, roads, and streams; the bodies of men that were young, healthy, well-trained, for peaceful work with hand or head; they sorrow for the men that were to become the fathers of a new generation, or who already were the fathers and educators of a new generation. How many of these men have not been made strong and efficient by the tireless —physical and mental—labour of women? But even the women who have been denied the labour of love for father or husband, son or brother, women who have only been able to give their tender ministrations to the com-

munity, now see how the war has, directly or indirectly, a hundredfold increased the want, sickness, helplessness, and brutality that they strove in times of peace to alleviate. The greater the insight that a modern woman has in the endless possibilities for the health and happiness of humanity that are thwarted for want of means, the madder the waste of the twenty million pounds seems that the world *daily* spends on the war. The more women rise to the responsibility of working for the spiritual culture of the younger generation the more they suffer from the coarsening influence of war on the young. The more they initiate their children in the belief that it is our moral duty to increase and refine our love of life and to bring our desire for a full, independent life into harmony with the self-sacrifice necessary for the sake of the whole, the more women will begin to demand the right to help choose the ends to which they sacrifice themselves and their sons. Innumerable examples prove that the women in the warring countries are just as ready to make sacrifices for their countries as the men. But at the same time many of these women are steadfast in their hate of war, that has craved these sacrifices for ends

that they have not sanctioned, have not helped decide, sacrifices that the foolish policy of men has forced upon them, sacrifices that man expects of woman as a matter of course, without dreaming of granting them, as citizens, the logical recompensation, suffrage. More and more we hear the demand that the mothers be given the same rights as the fathers to create the State for which they bear and bring up new citizens. More and more women are forced by what they now experience to awaken to a realization of the injustice of a situation that puts so many of the burdens and sorrows of war on them without giving them part in the decision that leads to, or away from, these sufferings. It is not only the men that are disabled by the war, but millions of aged men and women have died or become ill, or crippled, or insane, or suicides, as a result of the devastation of their homes. Thousands of women have been taken in childbirth during flight, or in famine, or fire, and have, therefore, died. Thousands have seen their children die, or, what is worse, have lost them and live in an agony of anxiety as to their fate. Thousands who have already lost several fine sons know that the sixteen-year-old will be taken after

the seventeen-year-old, the fifteen-year-old after the sixteen-year-old.

Day by day the consciousness of the truth expressed by Ruskin grows on the women:

"There is no wealth but life. Life, including all its powers of love, of joy, and of admiration."

The war causes millions of formerly heedless women to think about this man-created world that the war is now destroying. Everywhere their thoughts meet the thoughts of men who are also trying to find a way out of this condition of anarchy to a *world-organization* that will safeguard international peace, work, and exchange. Just as many women through their work for *social betterment* have become socialists—seeing that this work was futile under present social conditions—so will many women, who now defy death in the care of the sick on the battle-fields become *active* pacifists. It will be by the same inevitable necessity, by which, in times of peace, the work for social betterment led women to the idea of *social reorganization*, that the care of the sick during the war forces women to consider *political reorganization*.

It is on the strength and clearness of these

women's thoughts that we found our hopes for future peace. But these thoughts must find expression in *upbringing and education, in every speech and at every election, in every home, and in public life.*

When women consciously bring up their sons to be *saviours of humanity* instead of its destroyers; when women show the same holy zeal in the fight against war that they have shown in the fight against the other two human ravages: alcohol and prostitution; when they, as opposed to men, cease to look upon the question of race hygiene and population from the point of view of the greatest possible *quantity* for these race butcheries, and begin, instead, to consider how to produce the finest *quality* for all the peaceful tasks of life, then we shall be well started on the way to world-peace.

Not even when every drop of blood in every woman's being is filled with the hate of war—for which the women and children always have to pay the heaviest price—will war cease. For, so long as women believe as men that these sacrifices are necessary for the power and glory of the mother country, so long as women believe as men do that war is part of

God's world scheme, that we may in no wise alter—so long will there be war. Not alone the "womanly tenderness in human nature" will suffice to "ring in the future brotherhood," to quote the Swedish poet Verner von Heidenstam. What the nationalists now call the feminization of humanity, that is, the predomination of the feminine, or, in other words, the *Christian* elements, will not suffice for this the greatest of our cultural problems. Not until women in their social thought and work apply the *clearness* of thought and *strength* of action that is necessary to direct the fate of a people in a world, where it will still be a long time before the lamb can play at the lion's den, not until then will women have the power to help steer the course of the world.

In many spheres women are now taking up the work that in warring countries has fallen from the hands that have grown cold on the battle-field. In many ways women are now developing an admirable power of organization. Women will just as little as the socialists in the warring countries receive the immediate reward for their heroism. When the war is over we shall return to the old condition of affairs, and the rulers will again demonstrate

their capability of forgetting the lessons of the past. But world-progress does not forget; it lets *effects* follow *causes*, effects that those in power may be able to *retard* but never *hinder*. Innumerable agencies—visible as well as invisible—are now at work in this war, not only for the peace of the world but for the great democratic victory that will give women their citizen-rights, and the nations their period of bloom that those who feel sure of victory now confidently await. But all victories will not cause the spirit to quicken, the national vitality to surge, creative energy to flow, nor the world to feel young again. For women as for men, for artists as for every-day people, this war must burn away a great deal of vanity, a great deal of affectation, a great deal of what is superficial, if the people are to retain the dignity of such a grave time in their life, as well as in their poetry and art.

It is a hopeful sign that many people who were entirely lost in the play and passion, toil and moil of the day now think seriously of the *future*. It is of the future that both learned and simple men speak. For it is the future that will atone for the terrors of war. If the future is really to do this, then it must

be shaped by women as well as men. But before this is possible the minds of women must be really transformed by the impressions of the war. They must see a prophetic example in the woman who during the time of the Crusades went about a town in the Orient with a water-can in one hand, and a torch in the other—with which to "quench hell and burn heaven, so that the pure in heart should hate evil and love good." When this is the case, humanity will begin to do away with hell and create heaven on earth.

Many women are already now, during the days and nights of the war asking: Was it for this that I in agony bore my sons, watched and laboured over their tender years, and filled their souls with the best of my heart and mind? Many women ask further: Is it really true that the life and future happiness of my country necessitated a policy that led to all these sacrifices? And a few ask no longer; they have already set their Nay against man's Yea. These few are increasing. What I now with my faint voice say will some day swell with the chorus of millions of millions of women's voices:

We will—and we shall—quench the hell of war and create a paradise of peace!

CHAPTER X

PATRIOTIC INTERNATIONALISM

THOSE who seek to solve the so-called "war problem" with their human feelings find no answer to the problem. Only those who consider war in its relation to what is suitable for different phases of culture will be able to solve it.

Not until one can convince the apostles of war that war is the least suitable way of furthering the ends for which they claim to be fighting, will war lose its advocates. Then no one will waste any more time in enlarging on all the good effects of war. Or—to use Novikow's expression: "We all know that fire, high prices, or cholera may call forth strength of character, unselfishness, the power of organization, etc., but we do not, therefore, cause fires or famines any more than we would spread the cholera bacilli."

So long as it was in accord with the spirit

of the times to eat one's conquered enemies, war was combined with cannibalism. When it became more advantageous to enslave the conquered people, war and slavery were combined, and during the same period the land of the conquered was divided amongst the victors. Booty of one kind or another was then the chief excuse for war, and conditions are still in the main the same. It is for the sake of commerce that the warring nations seek to attain—or hinder others from attaining—territory in Europe or elsewhere. One still believes that war is the most expedient way of furthering or protecting the economic and other vital interests of a country. But when one at last grasps the futility of war for these purposes, the problem will be solved. Or better said "the problem will not exist any more," as was the case with the dark phases of cannibalism and slavery when these ceased to be advantageous because change of conditions and opinions had robbed them of the right to exist.

The only mystery is that the people of Europe, who are so advanced in other cultural respects, can be so backward in thought, that the great majority still cling to the belief

that war is the only suitable way of solving the deep-rooted conflicts between national interests. The most clear-sighted thinkers along these lines have long since seen that competing armaments and war-alliance would as inevitably cause a world-war as pressing a certain button will cause a loaded cannon to go off. The governments all "desired" peace—but they all *acted* for war. All thinking pacifists knew, on the other hand, that if one wished to attain peace one *should organize for peace and not for war.*

Amongst these thinkers are Novikow, Norman Angell, A. Fried, the Nobel prize-winner, and others—not to forget the Austrian sociologist R. Goldscheid, the author of several distinguished works. Two years ago he published a pamphlet called *Friedensbewegung und Menschenökonomie.*

Goldscheid's leading thought is the same that Fried stresses, namely, that enduring peace will be made possible only through a unity of the countries of Europe, not a state-unity like that of America or Germany, but what Fried calls a *Zweckverband* ("Purpose-union"). Such a unity would leave each State entire independence and would only be

for the purpose of furthering certain interests that the States had in common. There are already many such unions both for practical and ideal purposes. What is lacking is the political *Zweckverband*, a purpose-union for the peace of all the States that will make gradual disarmament possible, even if means are left to put down possible breakers of the peace both within and outside of the union.

Only calm thinking will lead one to the root of war. The peace movement that has only appealed to the emotions has never put the axe to the root of the problem. This movement, which was started in America and England, presupposed that Christianity is already realized. The smith, Elihu Burrit, founded his appeal for peace on the Christian hope that the sword shall be beaten into a ploughshare. But the world has never been Christian. It was only when Christianity was young and vital that the Fathers of the Church preached against war and made converts who put obedience to the principles of Christianity before obedience to the State. Now a German professor of theology has openly declared that the State can not let itself be led by Christian principles. And, in reality, this has never

been the case. Because the states—and the majority of individuals—must follow their interests, the peace-movement never built on a foundation of reality so long as it was only a proclamation of Christian humanitarianism. Only *scientific* pacifism has been able to approach reality.

The pacifists of Europe have, therefore, founded their hopes on an entirely new system of pacifism, since the so-called system of balance, that was the shibboleth of the secret cabinet policy, and of the endless competing of armaments has at last proved itself to be *the cause of international war instead of*, as it was claimed, to be *the protector of international peace.* In other words, war now shows itself in all its unreasonableness, because in spite of the unheard-of sacrifices that it demands, it fails to promote, nay even to protect, those interests for which it was undertaken. This view is shown very clearly in a league that a number of Germans have formed, called *Neues Vaterland.* Its aims are, indirectly and directly, to further all efforts that tend to leaven the policies and diplomacy of the European States with the idea of peaceful competition and the thought of an interstate

union for the purpose of political and economical agreement between the cultured peoples of Europe. This is only possible by doing away with the present system, whereby the few decide the weal or woe of millions of human beings.

Many notable Germans are supporters and members of this league. The following leagues are sister-leagues:

The Union of Democratic Control (London).

Nederlandsche Anti-Oorlog Raad (The Hague).

Bund für Organisierung Menschlichen Vortschrittes (Lausanne).

Die Vereinigten Staaten Europas (Blaricum, Holland).

Comité des Amigos de la Unidad moral de Europe (Barcelona).

The Cobden Club (London).

Komitee zum Studium der Grundlagen eines dauernhaften Friedensvertrages (Bern).

The appeal for "Abiding peace," that Swedish men and women made; the resolutions that were taken on the Swedish women's Peace Sunday, June 27th, that gathered together ninety thousand Swedish women; the resolution that

was taken at the International Women's Congress in The Hague; all tend to the same end, organization for peace in the name of patriotic internationalism. In America there are also leagues for the same purpose. As, for instance, The American League to Limit Armaments, The Women's Peace Party, and others. Then there have been many meetings in the socialistic as well as other political groups for the purpose of uniting people for peace.

On every hand, in the neutral as well as the warring countries, one hears the same cry: A new system must be created since the so-called system of balance has failed to do what was hoped of it. That progress must necessarily bring this new system in its wake has been demonstrated by many clear-headed thinkers, but few have been able to show it as clearly and concisely as R. Goldscheid in the above-mentioned pamphlet and I give, therefore, the following summary of his view as expounded in *Friedensbewegung und Menschenökonomie.*

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Goldscheid admits that war was reasonable from the point of view of national egoism before the era of *international dependence*

and before we had a conception of *human worth*. So long as the conquered become the slaves of the conquerors and their land the booty of the conquerors, the latter could live by the work of their slaves, and war was the natural way of attaining this much-prized advantage. But in so much as nations have in an ever-increasing degree become dependent on one another, and war at the same time has become ever more expensive, a nation has in the present day less and less to win and more and more to lose by war. The aim of war, now as always, is national expansion in one form or another (a place in the sun). But it is just those nations that have enjoyed the longest period of peace that have made relatively the greatest progress in every sphere . . . (The development of Sweden and Norway during the hundred years of peace from 1814 to 1914 is one of many proofs in support of this assertion.)

Parallel with the enormous growth of international exchange and international dependence, we have had a democratic evolution. People have begun to resent the idea of being used—either in times of peace or of war—as a means of increasing the power of the

few. The people, Goldscheid says, are beginning to look upon themselves as organic capital, and in this way a new science has been created that Goldscheid himself calls the science of human economy. This new science may prove to be the superstructure that arches over the high walls of national economy; and Goldscheid himself seems to me to be one of the excellent architects that this task demands.

Goldscheid continues this trend of thought by showing that the more human value is increased by the principles of democracy, the less can the invaded country of a civilized people, or conquered colonies, be ruthlessly exploited. And, therefore, the real advantages that one looks for as a result of victory become quite negligible in the face of all the direct and indirect expenses of present-day warfare.[1] The same development—called

[1] The manifesto of *Bund neues Vaterland*—confiscated in Germany—proves in the most convincing way how unwise and dangerous the new annexations that a large percentage of the German people now demand would be for Germany. Goldscheid has also written a manifesto, published by *Bund neues Vaterland*, in which he shows that Germany's greatest danger lies in the probability of her making all reconciliations with the Western Powers impossible, so that she will be forced into an alliance with Russia.

forth by socialism—checks the inner rapaciousness of organic capital—man—and the outward lust for booty in the shape of territory. So long as the leaders of a country believe that they further national production by exploiting the working-men and by war increase their national expansion in relation to other countries, there will be no change in either respect. But just as the growing demands of the working classes for safety and development have overcome the former condition, so must the nation's demands for safety and development overthrow the latter. Within the nations, as between the nations, the driving factor will have to become unity of interests instead of conflict of interests. This gives us an entirely new basis of national action both within the nation and otherwise. Goldscheid shows that the idea that war is of value to national production, and to commercial policies, and that armaments are an insurance policy, is as out of date as the idea of autocratic government. Together with this autocratic form of government go war and its heroes. Constitutionalism on the other hand lessens the possibility of a gross misuse of its subjects, as tools for its ends.

Consequently it also lessens the possibilities of a ruthless exploitation of the conquered. The growth of democracy thus lessens the advantages of war, whilst the steady growth of internationalism on all sides indirectly increases the damage of war for all nations.

But before all things the increasing value of the individual as a factor of productiveness and culture makes it ever more irrational to sacrifice this living capital. The more a nation has emphasized the quality instead of number of its children, the greater the care with which they are brought up, the better one protects both mothers and children and the working-men, the more one looks to the healthy growth and strength of the people, the greater the madness of war appears from the point of view of human economy. Seen from this point of view, all the so-called advantages of war are reversed.

Man's psyche is gradually altered through experience, continues Goldscheid. Those instincts and feelings, the mode of thought and motives, that still for the sake of national self-preservation demand war and armaments will be changed. Just from the national point of view more and more people—because

of their experiences of the effects of war—will resolve to encourage the development of a peace technique instead of a war technique. What is left of the nation's faith in blood and iron will be exchanged for a faith in brains and organization. In this way one will begin to near a condition where a far more effective national preservation of peace can be attained than by armaments. The spreading and ripening of pacifism in all countries and the consequent inner change, amongst others the pacification of the human soul, will more and more become the intellectual safeguard of modern man. And this will do far more for the protection of national integrity, than the hitherto customary, technical protection. For by thinking along pacifistic lines one's trend of feeling and will is changed. In this way the guarantee of peace is embedded in man himself.

Strife and competition will not, therefore, be done away with.[1] But contrasting and

[1] Novikow has illustrated this by comparing the condition of every country after inner unity was obtained with the former condition when civil war was the rule. Strife and the conflict of opinions and interests continue, but within the law. One does not turn to arms but to arguments and the ballots to win victories. Far from becoming apathetic without civil war, a people

conflicting interests will be settled by other means, when one no longer considers only the "sacred" values of the nation, but also the sacred values of humanity, of which the national values are but a part. . . . To defend or increase one's national values by means that are harmful to other nations will then be considered harmful to ourselves. And to let one nation go under for the sake of another's expansion will be considered an injury to humanity. Our ideas of cultural values and honour are still so primitive that an assertion like the foregoing is considered a mere phrase by traditional nationalism. But if anything deserves classification as a mere phrase, it is the worn-out patriotic ideas that this nationalism feeds on, through which the means of defence are limited to preparations for war. But to the new patriotism the thoughts of peace and human economy are living truths that are the food for our thoughts and actions.

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become more developed because they do not waste energy in protecting themselves. The same will be the case when international law puts an end to war. Nations will still strive for supremacy but without the force of arms. And as this form of strife is accepted by all as more advantageous between individuals, classes, and parties within the nation, how then can it be detrimental between the nations?

This statement of Goldscheid's is now supported by many other people, since war has in such an overwhelming way proved the hollowness of armaments as a surety of peace. In the life of the States the outlived nationalism represents the same aggressive and selfish individualism that held sway within each national group until the civil law compelled the individual to subject himself to the established judicial system and hindered him from asserting himself at the expense of others. The same persons who still support selfish and aggressive nationalism demand the subordination for the good of the State—in other words collective State-egoism—at the expense of the other States! The interest of the State is everywhere proclaimed the highest law. But this claim has no new import. It was heard in the Orient before the time of Christ. And then, as now, it implied that the individual should willingly sacrifice himself, bleed and die for the selfish and aggressive policies of the leaders of the State, that now are supposed to further the welfare of the State, and formerly the welfare of the rulers. In other words, citizens should now—two thousand years after Christianity taught us

that the dictates of conscience should come before those of the State—show loyalty to the dictates of State that the individual conscience must condemn. And they are in reality even driven by their consciences to sacrifice themselves for their country. For when their country is in danger through the policy of State interest, it becomes a matter of conscience to defend it.

But the number of those who believe that this double moral must cease; that the end, the welfare of the country, does not justify the State in using means that are condemned in the individual; that individual nations should not assert themselves at the expense of other nations; that wrong should be called wrong even if it is committed by the State for the sake of national progress, and achieved by noble endeavour, and the sacrifice of the individual life and happiness—this number is ever increasing.

But this outlived and conscience-dulling aggressive nationalism can only be overcome by the new patriotism for which Goldscheid has coined the word *Kulturpatriotismus*. Or, to be more correct, the word is not new, but the meaning he gives it is. For he does not

mean to say that culture should be the only defence of a people, but that a more and more cultured patriotism should take the place of aggressive and immoral nationalism. It implies that an international and patriotic platform adjusted to international relations will lead to the safer existence and richer development of each individual State. In the face of this new form of patriotism, says Goldscheid,—and I most heartily agree with him,—the old form dwindles to narrow-minded particularism.

He points out that the development of human economy and internationalism for the safeguarding of national culture and individuality complement each other, so that each brings the other to greater perfection. Human economy and organic internationalism safeguard both personal and national individuality, whereas particularistic nationalism shows its inferiority both in the general development of the individual and of the nation. Organized internationalism is necessary for the full development of national individuality just as socialism protects the individual in the community and gives him leisure and other opportunities for individual develop-

ment. When human economy is made the leading motive of both home and foreign policy, when we realize the great value of every individual to the whole, when our culture is estimated for what it does for the protection and development of the individual—war-policies will of necessity change. The greatest era of history, says Goldscheid, when man discovers himself, will then dawn. But, he continues, the more the social idea has made itself felt the more has the old war- and class-nationalism opposed the idea of the solidarity of men and nations. This assertion of Goldscheid's is confirmed by the fact that this solidarity is termed shallow internationalism from reactionary quarters. But war ought to have taught everybody by now that internationalism is not an empty fancy, but a hard and fast reality according to which we must arrange our life. In Sweden as in other countries they now claim that the "new" youth will have to turn away from the "outlived ideas" of the philosophy of evolution and determinism, away from religious and social radicalism, cosmopolitanism, and individualism, to the new philosophy of personality that lays stress on the right of the

individual to freedom, power of will, and initiative, but, only so that their will and power may be placed at the service of the nationalistic State.

The principle of the nationalistic State is still the same as when the Persians invaded Greece: might is the only right to be considered. The ideal of modern youth is no longer social justice, but economic and national power, in the shape of an increased sphere of activity and in proportion increased power of defence; not self-assertion, and free-will service to the whole, but subordination; not the development of personality and conscious choice, but blind discipline; not freedom in the fulfilling of duties, but enforced duties. On a par with this doctrine of self-abnegation is the undisguised proclamation of the right of the State to unjust and ruthless egoism. To serve absolutistic, anti-parliamentary, and military ideals is glorified as a means for the above-mentioned subordination of personality; social altruism sinks in our estimation in the degree that individual self-sacrifice to the idea of State is the watchword of the day.

Here we have—generally speaking—the contrast between the English and the Prussian

view. To be sure, the war has even in England called forth a movement for duty and discipline, and it was, perhaps, necessary. But it is certain that England has no fertile soil for the above-mentioned reaction-favouring tendencies, where half-truths vie with one another. For is not individualism as essential to-day as in the beginning of evolution? Individualism is, to be sure, duty-bound to practice self-restriction, community-restriction, and state-restriction so that neither the lawlessness of the individual nor class-selfishness, nor the greed of the State for power will be able to misuse others' rights. One will soon see that the doctrine of the self-denial of the individual to class, or State demands—whether these demands are justified or not—supports the present condition of anarchy between States, just as the uncontrolled self-assertion of the individual calls forth a condition of anarchy within the State.

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The decisive factor for the future of Europe —and before all things for the "restoration" of Europe—will be whether political thought and national feelings are influenced by the

reality of internationalism. This does not imply that disarmament is to be the motto of each country. War has more than ever before even in this respect taught us the reality of internationalism. No separate State can now take such a step without instantly writing its death sentence as a free national personality. In a world where one nation can push itself forward at the expense of another—because each believes this to be the way to further its own interests—no agreement of neutrality or arbitration can protect a nation from the violence of its neighbours; or hinder the violation of a weaker nation by a stronger nation. We must first plant the tree of peace-organization before we can taste its fruits, of which disarmament will probably be the last to ripen. But as Fried has pointed out, just as the principle of legitimacy had to make way for that of nationality, so must this in turn make way for that of international justice.

Only when this has really taken place, not as is now the case only in the consciousness of the most highly developed, but in the consciousness of the masses and their leaders, will we have the power of creating other means for safeguarding a people and their

justified self-assertion than those of armaments and war. But so long as the individual blindly accepts the injustices that the "welfare" of the State craves, we will be a long way from this goal. First the socialistic conception of the community and organized internationalism that in spite of everything are changing the thought and trend of feeling must gain a foothold and radically change our whole conception of politics.

But, as Goldscheid has so strongly emphasized, it will first of all be the will for a sound national self-protection that will bring about this transformation. It is already clear to many that war is a poor means of national self-protection. Healthy national egoism craves a new and more effective means. When these means are found, and mutually accepted, disarmament will follow as a natural effect of the whole course by which militarism now creates the conditions that will lead to its final defeat. That is, the more armaments are increased to the detriment of cultural, but more especially to the detriment of social-political and social-hygienic and economic needs, the more the organic power of defence is decreased. The greater the waste of this

strength, the less the returns of war. And this will eventually force us to find new means of protection against war if we are to go on existing at all. Nationalism has in this age of international solidarity taken the part against socialism, in which it sees the enemy of all national values. But, continues Goldscheid, the tide is undermining the roots of the old warlike nationalism, because daily and hourly experience teaches us that the progress of organized internationalism is the best protection of national culture, national individuality, national work and creation.

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Goldscheid wrote this before the war. Now—I at least hope—the power of the experiences that humanity is going through, coupled with the stress that socialism, pacifism, and feminism lay on new national and human ideals, will hasten the development that he and all other pacifists have foreseen. An organization for peace *must* come—not by the magic of fantastic peace-Utopias but slowly built up from the foundation by the inevitable force of circumstances.

CHAPTER XI

WOMEN AND POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY[1]

WOMAN'S will was for a long time directed toward one end only: to find a way of fulfilling the eternal destiny allotted to her, to become a wife and a mother and to exercise her womanly power within the home.

But the number of women who never could attain this end grew more and more. Therefore, woman's will gradually turned toward another goal: to liberate each individual woman's power to personal development and activity even outside the home.

The women thus liberated first looked down upon those who had their sphere of activity only at home. They placed their hard-earned new happiness—the purely personal development of strength—above the old happiness of a purely feminine development of strength.

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Then came a third period, the present one. Now the married woman has brought her development, gained before she married, with her into the home. Such a wife and mother wants both kinds of happiness: the feminine development of strength and power in the home, as well as the human development of strength and power in the community. She wants to win this double happiness for her own sake as well as for the race.

To-day woman's will—the will of the married as well as the unmarried—has its last and greatest aim: to humanize humanity, though to be sure those who are conscious of this aim are still in the minority.

The war year 1914–15 has given this will new strength. The married women are no longer satisfied to bear and rear children for the man-made community, to offer new tools for the State in peace and war. They have begun to divine what one of the prophets of Swedish women's emancipation, the author, C. J. L. Almquist, already knew when he said:

"Mankind is not yet born, it is only an embryo."

A year ago there were many who thought this too foolish an exaggeration to be men-

tioned in "our time." But "our time" has changed its face since then. We have reason enough to begin our work of civilization where Jesus began it 2000 years ago, when he gave to mankind the alternative between God and Mammon, between the spirit and the world. To make the right choice is now as it was then, a condition of the new birth, when the embryo of mankind, as our generation must still be called, will take the form of mankind. More than half of this forming process depends upon women's choice and upon their will to obtain the power without which the humanizing of mankind cannot become a fact.

The fight which is now raging in the world seems to be fought between might and right. But in reality it is fought between the old doctrine that might is right and the new will that right shall be might. Those women who today combine the demand for peace with the demand for suffrage have consciously chosen their place in the fight by the side of justice. When the women—according to Björnstjerne Björnson's transcendental poem—begin to cover the bare mountain-side like bushes and trees they will find when reaching the top a whole forest of men on the other side who are

already filled with the same conviction as the women, and they will meet on the top of the mountain, from where they will look together into the land of the future.

It is just these men who want to make right into might, who are beginning to understand more and more clearly that as long as women's will lacks the power of the vote, womankind can only indirectly work for that future. The citizenship of women is thus the first condition for enabling them to attain a collective influence in order to lift the race out of the stage of the beast of prey, in which nations still are living economically and internationally. It does not help, if the mother teaches her sons that right and truth should guide their acts, when the same sons later on, because of "practical politics" or "patriotic" reasons, have to support the iniquitous commercial or belligerent politics of their country.

The phase we are now living through has opened wide possibilities for increasing woman's power. Superficially just the opposite seems to have taken place. Since the time when the women of the defeated party were taken as war booty, women as such have never been less respected. Millions of women have

been killed or raped, hunted out of their homes and their countries, or have been made invalids or insane for the rest of their lives. The "sacredness" of womanhood, of the mother of the generation, as enunciated by men, will hold good only about the women of their own countries. And as to these the men do not count the tears they are shedding over their fathers, husbands, sons, or brothers who were killed or returned as invalids when they obstinately continue the war.

But all these experiences are rousing the women to a realization of the fact that all the beautiful words about the sacredness of motherhood are only meant to deceive them thoroughly. These words will become real only when women will arrange their lives in accordance with the new science which the Austrian sociologist, R. Goldscheid, has called human economy, and which is analogous to national economy. One of its first requirements is that women should refuse to bear great masses of children to become the innumerable victims of war. Secondly, that they should try to raise the human material to a higher level both physically and spiritually and to keep it on that level, and finally that

they should consciously counteract the state of war.

Women can do this even now by influencing public opinion. But only when they have obtained the vote can they carry out the principles of human economy in all departments where human strength is displayed. Then can they work against the waste of human beings in all its forms; above all, against the instinct of rapacity within a country and the warfare between countries. Both of these phenomena are the worst sins against the principles of human economy, and both are supposed to be committed for the benefit of the State. Some classes are used to produce the "wealth of the nation," others are slaughtered for the "welfare of the country"! The fact that these human beings who are thus impoverished and slaughtered are themselves the wealth and welfare of the country is the highest truth, which will become clear to the people only when the point of view of human economy is accepted.

The other half of mankind—the women—have without their will and by no fault of theirs been thrown into the misery of the world-war. By a grandiose relief work in all

departments they have tried to assuage the misery. They have by great personal effort tried to work not only for peace, but a peace that really means peace. The representatives of the belligerent nations have shown a breadth of view and a generosity which far surpassed the men of the same countries. But notwithstanding this, the women are going to stand outside the room in which peace will be concluded! Even if the women of one or several of the belligerent countries were now to unite in an appeal for peace they would not be listened to. And should the best women in those countries be permeated by the truth of human economy, and were they frankly to admit of the destruction of mankind that the continuation of this war entails, they would at this moment be pointed out as traitors.

Nevertheless, in spite of the seemingly hopeless state of affairs, there are currents at bottom which inspire us with more hope than ever before. Something is about to happen to the wrong thinking to which mankind has been confined as in a hermetically sealed glass bell. In the same way as a too-high tone of an instrument can break a glass, so has the cry of suffering from the world agony made a crack

in the glass bell. We are getting proofs that the men are beginning to comprehend that the system of centuries, the system of national egotism, with its secret diplomacy and its competition in armaments, is getting too old. To try to gain advantages against the interests of other nations, or to defend those already won, has become, as Norman Angell, Rudolph Goldscheid, and others have shown, more and more impossible, since internationalism has become a reality in which we live, move, and have our existence.

Internationalism makes every nation dependent on its collaboration with every other nation in order to produce and to interchange material assets, and the war becomes, therefore, an obstacle to life even for the victor.

Wrong thought concerning women has now received the same sort of a crack. The number of men is increasing who understand that the talk about "woman's mission" is antiquated, since the women have during the war become a power in national economy as well as a social power of much greater importance than ever before. The women have been compelled to enter upon many masculine occupations; they have even had to produce

the means of destruction for the war when the men have had to leave that work in order to go to the trenches.

It has become nonsensical to ask if it is suitable for a woman to do the work she is already doing as a working part of the social machinery. As a result an ever-increasing number of modern-thinking men ask themselves if this new, mighty social force can be left without political rights and without political responsibilities. And they are beginning to answer the question in the negative. The problem will at last assume the form of a conviction that women must get enfranchised and become eligible for office. It is evident that there is a great social danger in the fact that there are members of the community free from responsibility in the inner and foreign politics of the State, and such a responsibility can be placed upon individuals only by giving them full citizenship.

In a spiritual as well as a literal sense of the word, women have sown the fields during the war, and when the nations gather again around the work of inner development, many of the problems which were worrying humanity before the world-war will have ripened to

harvest in the fields thus sown. On the other hand, much of the work done by women during the war will very likely be of no importance in their own development, for they have been working under the influence of wrong thought. So, for instance, we hear from all countries how wonderfully well the nursing of the wounded is organized, how science has triumphed by giving life and limb to those whom the war has crippled, and how bravely and willingly women have helped in this work.

How few those women are who understand that it is systematized madness to make discoveries in order to produce the most efficient means of mutilating and tearing into pieces healthy men, and then to make new discoveries and enormous sacrifices of economic and personal power in order to win back the maimed ones to life, where they will anyhow be of small value! I wonder if even the German wife who gets her husband back with both legs lost, both eyes blinded, and one arm torn away understands the madness of it? Only one woman—a Finn—has expressed the thought that women should strike against the war by refusing their help to the wounded.

This idea did not come from a hard heart but

a broken one, and it springs from a clear brain. Those people surely have not such brains who talk with emotional sympathy and admiration about the help women are giving and about the victories of science among the human remnants, without understanding at the same time the madness of war. No, they confess cheerfully their belief that there must always be war and that war is great and beneficial!

Yes, there are women in the neutral countries as well as in belligerent who try to light the war fire where it is not yet burning and to make it blaze still higher where it is already high in the heavens! It is not women of such mental attitude who are going to humanize mankind. The women believing in war belong to the mass. Unfortunately, the leading men often belong there too. It is their mental slowness and their lack of imagination—their wrong thinking—which, much more than bad intentions, prevent progress in all departments.

This wrong thinking has nowhere been so sluggish, so unimaginative as on the questions of war and of women. This is more or less natural, because the question of war is connected with one's native land and the question of women with the home, the two things which

are dearest to most people, and innumerable sentiments bind the infinitely dear objects with tenacious prejudices into an indissoluble unity. Only when the feelings will embrace strongly the new idea, that the native country will be protected and developed more effectively by an organization of the people for peace than by every individual country preparing for war, may the world expect to look forward to a new system of political activity. This is to be brought about by the fact that the world has become international—*i. e.*, that all nations that are taking and giving materially and spiritually are dependent on one another.

The policy of national egotism is useless in the struggle of existence among nations, and this fact alone must—independent of all humane reasons—bring about its fall. Nothing is more certain than the truth that the time will come when we will have to place mankind before the nation. Only thus can we make the progress which is now so necessary for mankind, just as we had once been compelled, in order to make such progress, to learn to place the native land before the district and the community before the family. We lose thereby nothing of the lasting value of the district

or of the family for our change in feeling, but we have gained new values which the new and life-giving conceptions of country and society carried with them. And such will also be the case when each country in order to exist will adjust its internal and foreign politics according to the truth that humanity must be placed above the individual nation as the nation is above the individual.

Unless this happens, anarchy will exist within the State. Because this balance of values does not yet exist between nations, they live, internationally speaking, in anarchy. This will remain as long as national egotism remains, placing the might of one's own nation above the right of the other nation, and which is now called "nationalism." As long as this kind of patriotism is approved of by peoples, the state of war between them will continue to exist. Only when the people are inspired by that patriotism which demands that between peoples there shall be the same lawful order and the same moral code as between citizens, can the open or the latent state of war, which caused the world-war, vanish. This will come about by the organizing of the most thoughtful individuals in all countries,

in the belligerent as well as in the neutral, who look for peace in the future.

It is first of all through education that this new patriotism will be established, but this demands that women themselves take no part in national egotism. As long as the most ignorant and crudest expression of hatred of peoples is called patriotism, as long as women will have a feeling of pride over their country's evil deeds against other countries, they will not educate the younger generation to a right international sense of justice.

Neither will they educate them to detest brutal methods as a means as long as they themselves use so-called "methods of force." Mothers talk about such methods just like men who believe that the war's brutal measures cannot be helped, because human nature cannot be transformed, and they can be kept in order only by means of external force. Even mothers who are anxious to work for peace believe, for instance, that in the nursery when the bigger brother has struck the little brother she must punish him as the one way of making him feel the same kind of suffering that he himself has inflicted. This is the kind of thinking of the

ancient savage, "eye for eye" and "tooth for tooth."

"Civilized peoples" act just as savagely when they use bodily punishment as a means of force. The movement against domestic discipline, corporal punishment, penalty of death, is an outgrowth of a clearer understanding of the brutality in the above ancient savage conception.

In education and in war force as a means still survives as a necessity for an end in view, and as long as force as a means is accepted we will never arrive at the rational. As long as we are armed with means of punishment and destruction the brain will be useless in finding the rational—*i. e.*, the most suitable, means. What would be the rational, for instance, when the big brother teases the little brothers and sisters? That the former, his prayers disregarded, is separated from the little ones for a whole day so that he may suffer the consequences of his "unsocial" conduct just as criminals have to suffer it in prison. In the same way, an individual nation can be corrected when it attempts to disturb international peace by a world-organization which humanity has formed. Only when separation from an

international exchange proves itself fruitless does the force of war become unavoidable, just as recourse must be taken to punishment when the individual proves that he cannot be reached by any other means of discipline.

It is certain that among most children one can by rational means instill in them the truth that by acts of unlawfulness or deceit they deprive themselves of social joy and mutual trust. A child's self-control can grow this way, although more slowly than by punishment, and the inhibitions thus learned will be exercised throughout life. Such an education will remain in the mind of the adult and will grow into a voluntary self-control and a sincere obedience to the demands of society, and from this state of mind of the individuals of a nation will an international self-control be developed.

This will not be, as during the peace period preceding the world's war, a peace forced only through fear of war, just as the self-control of the child or of the one desirous to commit violence from fear of a spanking. No, international self-control will then rest upon the conviction that no individual nation has anything to gain, but much to lose, in the violation

of laws internationally agreed upon and protected. For such possible crimes one must still for a long time conceive a preparedness for war which would be held in common between nations as the ultimate expression of power.

But, with the State, as with the criminal or the child, the ultimate or rather the brutal method must be considered as unauthorized as long as there are other methods that might prove successful which have been left untried. Only by upholding this as a principle, only by making public opinion condemn all external violence where spiritual methods can be used to attain one's end, will one, as far as the individual rights of children, of members of society and of nations are regarded, seek in real earnest to find the best method to safeguard this truth, in the same way as self-discipline upon which the rights of others is based is inculcated and preserved by law among individuals and nations.

CHAPTER XII

WAR BORN OF SPIRITUAL NEGLECT[1]

As in the the mediæval tale of the battle on the Catalonian fields, where armies fighting in the air were seen above the armies fighting on earth, so the clear-sighted can see above the nations murdering each other in the world-war a giant struggle between two philosophies of life. They are the same which have divided the nations of the earth since the days of Cain and Abel; the philosophy of life which looks without and the one which looks within. All important cultural progress took place after the internal power was victorious over the external, after the spirit proved itself stronger than the soul.

The future of Europe depends now on the termination of this invisible strife. But the outcome of the struggle depends to a large

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extent upon the philosophy of life that the women embrace. If they by means of the external power attempt the happiness of their own, of their country, of their race; if they permit the present reality to persuade them that this is the reality that is going to remain; if they by the flame of the world's holocaust believe that they have rediscovered the foolishness of what the "idealists" and the "Utopians" in antiquity, in mediæval and in modern times dreamed to be peace on earth; if they in the future pictures of the friends of peace see only mirages of oases, because reality to-day no longer offers palm-shaded springs to those who hunger and thirst after righteousness; then, yea, humanity has in a double sense been bled to death on the battle-field, and humanity, which during the world-war has been outraged a thousand times by men, will no longer find a haven among women.

And, in such a case, even the women will become destined by the social philosophy of autocracy and plutocracy, clericalism and bureaucracy, national egotism and nihilism, to fight against the social philosophy which will guide progress according to patriotic, democratic, pacificist, socialistic, and individualistic

principles, for the reasons that these are the only ones that will lead humanity to a self-realization within and between nations.

The question in what way women are going to use their influence after the end of the world-war will be determined, as other human life problems, only after the end of the world-war. The outcome can be such that Europe will depend in the next decades only upon a materialistic basis for the development of national power. The outcome can also be such that humanity will perceive to what an extraordinary degree it has departed from the spiritual life by its excessive abandonment to a magnificent materialistic development.

Humanity may perhaps begin to seek the synthesis between action and contemplation, between a sound conservatism to all eternal values and a sound radicalism to the destruction of all worn-out forms in which these values have been placed; the synthesis between development and a limitation of self which for the individual, for the nation, and for the race is the postulate for self-realization in spirit and truth. If such a philosophy will govern the future, then the women will attain the balance between the Martha and Mary lives

which they have lost during the preceding development.

I have often been called reactionary by feminists when I pointed out that the women throughout the whole present-day materialistic utilitarianism and industrialism have been exposed to the same danger as men; namely, a neglect to cultivate the inner life. Now, if ever, one ought to understand that neither men nor women become real human beings through their right to work, through social activity, or by creating cultural values. The men of the bleeding nations of Europe are no longer crude professional soldiers; no, they belong to all classes of manual and intellectual workers, yet has this glorified culture humanized them to the extent of checking their violent deeds by the commonly accepted national standards? Have the women in all their social work become so humanized that they have risen against the sins of their own nations?

Inoculation has been used against bodily epidemics, but the malaria of hatred and revenge is without restriction allowed to devastate even the souls of children. The men of the so-called cultural nations use

obediently the most barbarous fighting methods; they tear asunder without conscience the still weak and laboriously woven fabric of international law, and use their political rights in the name of national values to prolong the slaughter of peoples. We see that the access of men to the most precious material and spiritual cultural gifts, their unlimited right to work, their suffrage—in a word, all that which women in part still strive for—has meant nothing to the self-realization of humanity.

It is true that modern culture has created a more favourable environment for human life, in the same way as excellent lying-in hospitals provide better conditions for the child-bearing women. But in neither case can environment give life. The essence of the human soul as of a human child is determined from within. Our toil-harassed and production-hounded days have been an unfruitful womb for humanity. Only when individuals and nations will realize that it profits them nothing to gain the whole world and lose their souls is it possible to hope that humanity will be converted from the broad path of external success to the narrow path of spiritual develop-

ment—the path that leads to life both for the individual and the nation. What is it that survives of the nations of the past? Their battle glory and trading power have long become faded memories. It is only the fruit of their spirit that is still the actuating reality.

The spiritual art of a people, as of individuals, is determined by many factors. But neither people nor individuals develop to the best from their art unless they have a conscious will to a spiritual regeneration, to a noble quiescence; unless they concentrate upon a close self-scrutiny, unless they stop to survey the value of what they have gained and what they have lost. If the individual neglects the spiritual analysis it may happen that he has consumed his whole life in "doing good" without himself achieving goodness. Nay, on the contrary, in the great crisis of his life he may prove himself selfish and ruthless.

In the same manner, a nation can have a tremendous growth of power and still not ask itself how the growth influences the character of its people. In critical moments this character may show itself to have deteriorated far below its best possibility.

It is true that a people can be misled by its government, its representatives, or its press. But here the people receives what it deserves. It isn't alone because of the devastating influence of the war that we now witness a cataclysm of soul-culture. It is because people have lost themselves in the cares of many things instead of concentrating on the one thing necessary. And what is this except a growth in spiritual power? To be able to give homage to the true even when we are compelled to fight it; to be able to love the lovable even in our adversary; to be able to judge without prejudice; to attempt to understand in order to forgive—all these are the expressions of spiritual power.

Had the above been developed among the individuals of the nations it would have been impossible for the people, when their governments thrust them into war, to have heedlessly become victims of blindness and evil-believing hatred. What spiritual neglect has not been apparent to those who have followed the temper of the warring nations—yes, even the partisanship of the so-called neutrals! Because of this neglect of the emotions we now have reached the point

where peace is continually more difficult, where on both sides utterances have been made and war acts committed which not only have torn tender ties between numerous individuals, but also have impeded a continuous civilization, destroyed the spiritual objects of joy, and have postponed to a still more remote future the birth-hour of humanity.

The mutual sympathy between peoples, which developed during the last decades, has withered within a year among the fighting nations. A new generation must grow up, who are without the faintest memory of the war, for those international ties to be reknit, which in July, 1914, were considered so strong that if they could not prevent they at least could quickly bring the war to a close.

The men and women who believe in the materialistic doctrine of power think this year to have witnessed a complete defeat of the conception of life which puts confidence in spiritual power. While Kant anticipated popular self-government as a protection for peace, we now point to the popular will to extend power as the deepest cause of the war.

It may be that public opinion can be aroused by the press and the money kings to the fact

that it is Parliament which votes credits for war preparations. But all this does not alter the great fact that the people are inspired by the will for peace and are incited to the will to war only by the leaders—governments and parliaments, press and trusts. The popular leaders are in their turn the victims of the suggestions of the past. Because military power for a thousand years has been considered as the highest expression of national power, and conquests as the highest means for increase of national power, they maintain this situation through the hypnosis in which traditional thinking places them.

A leading statesman is said to have remarked to a delegate to the International Peace Congress of Women: "You women are able to start peace talk; we cannot." There is not a single man, however, who has had the courage to light the fuse to the heaped-up explosives, who has had the power or the courage to break with the traditional thinking which sees as the purpose of the war the annihilation of the enemy. Although the judgment of the world, even among the fighting nations, has unanimously condemned secret diplomatic negotiations, still the purposes of the war and

the conditions of peace continue to be hidden behind value expressions as the nations stand trembling before the prospect of another year of war which every one in every country clamours must be won. Yet all are silent as to what victory shall ultimately demand in millions of life and gold.

Since the self-stupefication of men has not disappeared after this whole year of war, shall not the women of the battling countries, who do not have the weight of politics hampering their freedom of action, dare openly and frankly to appear in public? Shall they not, as the children in Andersen's fairy tale about the Emperor's new clothes, exclaim that the war which was bedecked with beautiful national phrases is in reality a naked and an ungarnished crime against the people themselves, against the nations themselves, and through them against future mankind, for whom it is demanded that the people who are now willing to bleed each other to death shall leave the fight with a conserved life force?

The women in the neutral countries have uttered their prayers for peace; small groups of women in the warring countries have been vilified as unpatriotic because they have done

the same. But still no signs are visible that the majority of the women in the warring nations are prone to begin a concerted action against the war. The hopes for peace which surely each day spring from the hearts of millions of women do not make themselves heard. Indeed, the majority of women have completely made the point of view of the man their own, and are willing to continue the war to a "glorious victory"—although the longer war is continued the more impossible will the realization of the victory of the kind expected become, and the greater the certainty that, in case such a victory should be won, it will be attained with such immeasurable material and spiritual losses that no fruit of victory can balance it.

Only when all of the women of the fighting nations begin to comprehend this, when they resolve to use the means in their power, since their political irresponsibility prevents them from demanding peace boldly, then at last will the men awake from the hypnosis caused by the war. Then perhaps will the leading and governing men comprehend that that which has been concealed from the worldly wise has long been revealed to the women perceiving

through their emotions—namely, that the only way to restore Europe is an immediate and noble peace, one that is made in the same spirit as the peace activity of the international women and which has inspired also a majority of other associations to ask for a permanent peace. In spite of everything a white ray of hope is still shining over the red flare of the world conflagration. This hope is that after the world's conflagration there shall come to pass that which is told in the myth of the Norns about the Last Day. After which there shall arise a new earth, with beautiful vegetation, where in the eternal green will be rediscovered the golden tablets which were lost in the beginning of time and where the holy runes of antiquity shall again be inscribed. Then perhaps will the hearts of women again expand to the song sung by the Norns at the cradle of each new-born woman that she is born to be mother in a twofold sense, and that the most holy purpose of her motherhood is that out of the child embryo, from which the race springs, humanity shall develop.

CHAPTER XIII

THE RELATION BETWEEN THE SEXES

WHEN the first year of the war was nearing its close, a middle-aged American lady visiting in my home said to me: "Nowhere will the war bring about more radical change, more unexpected changes, than in the relations between the sexes." What way out will the millions of women find, who will more than ever have to give up all hope of realizing their longing for love and children?

A few months later I had another American lady in my home, this time a young girl, who put the same question, only with the alteration natural to her age. "What will become of all us young girls who could formerly reasonably expect to marry, but who now see their chances infinitely diminished?" Millions of older women are wondering, as the first one did, for the sake of the younger ones; millions

of younger women are wondering for their own sakes.

Quite a number of plans have already been suggested in Europe to relieve the abnormal sex conditions, which have, of course, met with a great deal of opposition.

Some one in London has conceived the idea of founding a "society for the marrying of wounded heroes," an appeal to woman's self-sacrifice and patriotism to make the lives of these men bearable and to propagate children who will inherit their fathers' qualities of heroism. These wives who would, in most cases, have to become the supporters of their families, would, therefore, be paid a man's wages and would, in many cases, also be given a stipend to facilitate their marriage.

To, therefore, mate men to women suitably, it is suggested to have committees of clergymen and physicians. For it is not proposed to let the parties choose themselves. Women who are physically strong will be expected to marry men who need to be carried or pushed in a chair. Blind men who can still at least enjoy good food, will be married to good cooks, and so forth.

It seems impossible to believe the statement

that the society already had hundreds of thousands of female members. Can it be possible that women are willing to offer themselves for such a pitiful purpose—where love is quite out of the question?

In Germany some one has suggested that the Government give invalids an opportunity to own a home of their own. This would enable the heroes of the war to found families. For it is to be expected that thousands of noble women who are widowed by the war will remarry these invalids. Another thoughtful German has suggested that the Government open a marriage department, partly to further early marriages, partly so as to help young men to make suitable acquaintances. For these young men who survive the war he thinks will not have time for the social life that formerly gave them opportunities for becoming acquainted.

At the beginning of the war, before anyone suspected either its length or the number of its victims, a German feminist wrote a consoling article for the German women, pointing out that the greatest percentage of marriages took place in Germany after the War of 1870. This was, however, the result

of the great economic boom that this war brought Germany. It gave the young men of between twenty and thirty the chance that they otherwise all too often lack, of having a family. This authoress predicted the same state of affairs for Germany this time as a result of victory, but after twenty months of war, such an optimistic view can hardly be possible. The capital that the prosperity of the last decades has created, is quickly disappearing. The debt of the future is growing in every country for every hour that passes. The graves that are now even being filled with the youths of sixteen and seventeen are growing in number. It is not strange, therefore, that here and there the idea of polygamy that already had its advocates in Germany before the war, should now be considered as suitable from the standpoint of race hygiene. Those men who return sound from the war, know as a fact that young Germans, from patriotic reasons, pure-mindedly and seriously consider this idea.

And the same idea has been openly expressed by an Indian prince studying sociology and ethnology in Oxford. He points out that, already before the war, England had 1,200,000

more women than men. And with the present losses of young men between the ages of twenty and thirty, in England, he estimates that every fourth woman in England must remain unmarried. Similar conditions must naturally follow in other countries. Of course from the point of view of race hygiene, only those men who are physically, psychically, and morally sound should be allowed to marry two wives. Love must, of course, be sacrificed for the sake of patriotism, and women, this prince belives, will sooner make this compromise than remain single for life. From the standpoint of the race, of course, such marriages are infinitely to be preferred to invalid marriages. It does not seem probable at present though, that any state will adopt this idea. But it is probable that there will in reality be a state of polygamy such as existed after the Thirty Years' War. Therefore, the increase of population will probably also be greater than a condition of strict monogamy would permit. But it is not probable that large numbers of unmarried self-supporting women will replace marriage with free love. The question is whether these women will want to become

mothers, and if that is the case, whether the community will lend dignity and responsibility to such form of matriarchal law.

In most countries, where these questions have been seriously considered, one has found very rational means for increasing nativity. In Germany, for instance, they have done away with the law preventing women with children from becoming teachers, as well as the difficulties attending military marriages, and the difficulties attending the remarriage of the divorced; and they have also increased the salaries of the official class.

A question that is causing great anxiety in Germany is the danger to maternity in the increase and spreading of contagious sexual diseases during the war. Another source for anxiety is the fact that many men, through shocks or other causes, will return from the war impotent. For these reasons, many women who marry men returning from the war, will have to remain childless.

During the last decades one has, first in the sphere of literature, then in that of social work, and finally from the point of view of race hygiene, everywhere been considering the problem of the unmarried mother and her

child. All those who for humanitarian and social reasons craved the care and protection of the community for these mothers and their children were considered apostles of immorality. This was the case, for instance, with the German women who, ten years ago, formed a society for the protection of motherhood; a society that the woman's movement in Germany refused to recognize. Already the first year of the war, however, brought about a radical change in this attitude. The war had that advantage that it made it possible for a great number of engaged couples who had a long period of waiting before them to marry; often, to be sure, they were separated immediately; often, they never saw each other again; but the young wife or widow, in case she became a mother, had at least that happiness left her. And the race was increased by what science now considers the most valuable human product, the children of young lovers. In England the percentage of marriages in 1915 increased enormously, and two-thirds of these marriages were war marriages.

But war marriages have not always been possible; a great many soldiers left only a

sweetheart at home. When the soldiers later on in the course of the war were given a furlough in the interest of the race, no difference was made between the married and the unmarried, and in the homes that are now opened in every country for the care of poor women during their confinements, no difference is made for the married or unmarried mother, just as no difference is made in corresponding homes for legitimate or illegitimate children. Thanks to all these precautions, the nativity in Germany has not sunk as much as one feared. The fact that the battle-fields swallow up millions of lives makes nativity a national question and revolutionizes ideas of sexual morality. Everything is now looked upon in the Spartan spirit of being a matter of the State. All these facilities for military marriages are being made because the State expects the men to propagate themselves before they die. It is to ensure a good crop of soldiers for the year 1935 that Joffre, to the greatest possible degree, has given the French soldiers four days' leave with free journeys home. It has been suggested in France to tax the unmarried and childless and to relieve the taxes of those

who are married or have many children, and similar measures will probably be taken in the other warring countries.

What was formerly considered a sin, loveless marriages for the sake of having offspring, will perhaps, from the national point of view, come to be considered a duty hereafter. Children outside of marriage, and perhaps even other deviations from the ideal of monogamy will be practised after the war to a far greater extent than the people of Europe secretly allowed themselves before the war.

Twenty months of war have already shaken the foundations of "Holy marriage" more than all the apostles of immorality—amongst whom I have been counted—were able. That all new forms of sex relations will not be *officially* sanctioned is self-evident, but they may have the sanction of custom, and this, in some cases, means more than the approval of the State.

When the German "Society for the Protection of Motherhood" celebrated its tenth anniversary in 1915, Helena Stocker was able to show that the protection of motherhood, which ten years ago was considered almost

indecent, had become the watchword of the day. The "Society for the Protection of Motherhood," the German "Society for the Increase of Population," and another for the protection and growth of the race all met in October, 1915. And for each of them the principal question was, how to diminish the mortality of infants, and how best to extend the protection of motherhood. For help during confinement and illness, nursing premiums, and so on, they now turn to the State. The idea that I have so long advocated that *mothers should be considered the servants of the State* has already been taken up in Germany. And they make no difference between married or unmarried mothers.

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Another moral question that was previously discussed, that of abortion, has come up again during the war. In East Prussia the question has been discussed as to whether the law against abortion should be suspended for those women who were raped by the Russian soldiers. And in France, where many women have, with great suffering, borne the children of their enemies, some

people still advocate abortion; someone even suggested killing these children, in order to ensure the purity of the race. Surely one cannot go further from the ideals of Christian morality? And though these suggestions have been rejected, the mere fact that they have been discussed, proves what this whole war has so clearly shown: that the religion of Europe is no longer that of *Christianity* but that of *nationalism*, and that everything that is considered good for the nation is proved to be right.

The question for the future will be whether patriotism will have become to such a degree a religion to women that they will be willing to sacrifice their idea of love—which, to the more advanced modern woman, had also become a religion—and marry for the convenience of the State. Love had, in the relations between the sexes, for many women become so sacred that they were willing to sacrifice their joy in possessing a home and children so as to remain true to the ideal of love they were unable to realize.

The gift of adaptability that the war has shown woman to possess in every other sphere, will probably help most women to

adapt themselves to new erotic conditions. Light women have, during the war, been satisfied with any lover chance brought along; they have easily replaced their husbands with others. Therefore, to them love is not a question of the heart, as it is to refined and true women. The same is the case with prosaic and earthbound women, who will no doubt be satisfied to marry according to arrangement.

But one thing is certain, and that is that after the war, very many women simply *will not have the strength* to undertake the duties of marriage, at least, not if they were to have large families. Already before the war, many women found the fourfold duties of a wife, to help support the family, to bear and care for children, to be both mistress and friend to their husband as well as caring for the home, too much of an undertaking. After this war, millions of women will have to become the supporters of their families, even if their invalided husbands are able to contribute. Many women will have to become nurses to the husband that the war has returned to them a wreck. With the new taxes, the burden of making both ends meet

will be greatly increased. Through the loss of the male members of the family, women have become the sole supporters of the old and helpless of the family. Many of these, to be sure, will not have been able to survive the sufferings and deprivations of the war, but those who are left will be dependent on the arm of a single woman. In some cases, no doubt, women will have become physically and psychically stronger through the work and sacrifices war has brought on them.

Many imaginary illnesses will have disappeared, but such cases are, no doubt, comparatively few compared to those where women's health has been ruined by the sorrow and tribulations of war. Therefore, they will have to spare themselves in some sphere. And the only possible sphere will be that in which the State will expect most of them: the sphere of Motherhood.

I have never agreed with those feminists who claim that the one worth of the married woman is shown by her ability to earn a livelihood. Her ability to bear and educate her children and build a home is so handicapped by her leaving her home to procure a livelihood that the only way to solve the problem would

be to consider her motherhood a State service, and reward it accordingly. In America one State has already begun to give a "Mother's Pension" to poor mothers, so that they will be relieved of the duties of the supporter during the tender years of the child, and will be able to devote themselves instead to the duties of upbringing.

But this ideal way of solving the problem of motherhood and self-support was very distant already before the war, and though there is now in the interest of nativity a good deal of talk about different means of helping mothers, when peace comes and the people have to shoulder the mountain of war debt, there will hardly be any means left in Europe with which to help women. Therefore, this just mentioned ideal way of solving the problem will be put off to a still more distant future. Amongst the nations so heavily oppressed by the war, one will have to count on a far greater number of women having to become self-supporting than formerly. This will bring about very radical changes in the community, in economic conditions, in family life, and in the increase of population. Family life, during the next generations, will be more

sober, more prosaic. The death of so many men will, to a certain extent, do away with competition between the sexes, and also with marriage. The number of illegitimate children will increase, but they will be better cared for. On the whole, the increase of population will be hindered by woman's inability to both bear and provide for children, and to those who look upon woman as the producer of soldiers, this will seem a misfortune. To those, however, who look upon the matter in a more human way, it will, on the contrary, *become a condition for future development that women resolutely refuse mass production of children*, and more consistently seek to improve the quality of humanity, whilst they, at the same time, try more energetically to procure the right to have a say in the politics on which the lives of their sons and daughters are so dependent.

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Women were aiming at this already before the war. The more capitalistically organized the productions of a country are, the smaller the nativity. This fact had already begun to create what the American sociologist,

Goldscheid, terms *Human Economy*. In an excellent pamphlet, *The Woman Question and Human Economy*, he shows that the woman's movement must centre round Human Economy. When woman, as a producer of humanity, becomes conscious of herself, she will rise up against the unfruitful fruitfulness that has been her lot. She will no longer bear a great number of children, half of which die for lack of vitality, or because the parents have not the means to bring them up, the other half of which are quickly diminished in an industry that takes account only of the quantity produced, not of the human material involved. She will no longer bear sons to be used up for war, and when the majority of women revolt against the misuses that they have been subject to, then even men will be forced to Human Economy, to replace the present waste in the field of labour and, before all, in the field of war. Goldscheid wrote this *before* the war.

If women after the war willingly comply with the wish for "national childbearing," and "patriotically" support this competition, they do not deserve anything better, but that their sons twenty years hence shall fill new

trenches! Let us hope that they will not be willing!

If woman, for national reasons, should become untrue to the highest instincts of her love: to give the race only children of love, she will sink so deep that neither the right to vote nor any other rights will be able to help her. Warning voices have already been heard pointing out that, from a biological point of view (that is, the transmission of hereditary traits), love is necessary. My intuition in this respect seems therefore to be verified. What love means to spiritual happiness everyone knows who is truly loved. It may be selfish to think of oneself, but for the good of the race, one may well wish that the women who are of the generation out of which every fourth must remain single, will sooner *bear* this sacrifice than submit to bearing loveless children for the sake of the nation. The more advanced youth in the Latin countries had already begun to embrace the idealism of the Germanic races, and reject the old custom of parent-arranged marriages. Amongst the Germans and English, as well as other Germanic peoples, popular opinion had gone so far as to consider

le mariage de raisonnement a lower form of marriage. A return to this form of marriage would seem a sin to all emancipated souls, even if the temptation came in the disguise of "national welfare." The degradation of sexual morals that follows every war will be of little consequence compared to this lowering of our sex ethics, that have taken thousands of years to develop—camp life and long sojourns in conquered towns always lower the morals of otherwise pure-minded men.

This war has given proof enough of to what a degree the vicious elements of these million armies can go in spite of all discipline.

In the long run, however, woman's erotic self-sacrifice would be more detrimental to the race than these lapses, which, during the war, have already caused so many diseases and other unfortunate consequences.

Besides the millions of homes that the war has destroyed, the happiness that it has crushed, the lives that it has spoilt, it has also made unforeseen happiness possible.

The war literature does not only contain stories of the heroic women who have dared every danger in order to be able to follow or become united with their lovers; it also

tells of unions that have been dissolved, and of doubt that has become certainty. Even in the field of erotics, the war has been fatal in many *different* ways. One time it has proved itself a deliverer from inevitable situations, another time it has created such.

Many of the psychic disturbances due to the war are partly attributed to the arresting of normal sex conditions. A German neurologist, for instance, thinks that the psychic epidemics, when people create, believe, and spread the wildest rumour about the enemy, are partly due to the unbalanced mental condition caused by an unnaturally arrested sex life.

A critical consideration of impressions and reports is made impossible, because there is not that restraint that otherwise keeps the imagination and judgment of the educated within certain bounds. This unbalanced state of mind is shown by *a new category of crimes* that have come up since the war, in which women play an unusually large rôle. They help to spread rumours more often false than true, as, for instance, that another woman, during her husband's absence, has taken a lover. There are such cases, and they often

lead to tragic results on the husband's return. Yet the rumour may not infrequently have started in another woman's diseased imagination. And when they are driven to bay such women often confess that they were possessed by some inexplicable secret power. It is not unusual, for instance, that women tell their relations sorrowful and quite unfounded news from the front. These crimes remind me of another form of false witness that was common during the witch processes that flourished during the hysterical condition after the Thirty Years' War. That the German women throw flowers, cigarettes, chocolate, etc., to prisoners of war may, in some cases, be attributed to compassion, but often also to a form of sentimentality that sometimes shows itself in a cruder way. That a German woman was imprisoned for suggesting to a Russian prisoner that they marry on his release goes to prove that neither flirtation nor love is restricted by race theories.

Abel Hermant speaks of the "woman who does not know that there is war in Europe." They are found in every country, and comprise a nation unto themselves, just as the mothers do. The first mentioned nation

has, at all times, proved very inimical to any uplifting influences of war, but that they can have good sides that come to the fore in times of war is indisputable.

. . . . . .

The war has called forth a new and pathetic phenomenon in the nation of mothers. From many of these mothers, one has heard the cry, "My son is dead—give me another." They have heard of some homeless soldier, whom they, without knowing him, have overloaded with presents, and to whom they have offered a home. That many pathetic and comical discoveries have been made when the two have finally met, is natural. Such is also the case when many of the both young and old unmarried women meet their war-son. A little refined woman may discover that her war-son is a coarse fellow, or the reverse may be the case. Or, a young man who has romantic ideas about the woman he corresponded with, may return to find her an ugly old maid, or a young girl may find her war-friend to be a serious, elderly man. But in many cases, these new relationships may have been a source of harmless joy.

That many little war children have been adopted by mothers who have lost their own children, or by women who have never known what motherhood means, shows one of the ways in which women have been able to glean some sweetness from the bitterness of war. But how meagre, how artificial are not these joys, compared to all the natural, life-giving, promising human relationships that have been crushed under the iron hoofs of the black horse of war!

CHAPTER XIV

WOMAN AND WAR

THE women in all the warring countries and even in the neutral countries that have been nearest the scene of war have devoted themselves to the cause of their country and of humanity. The women of the aristocracy in all the warring countries have not only devoted their wealth but themselves to the service of the wounded. Some have turned their castles into hospitals for the wounded, others have organized the ambulance service immediately behind the front in a most praiseworthy manner. It stands to reason that a great many of these women were at first incompetent and hindered more than they helped. Beatrice Harraden describes the despair at every front caused by all the princesses, duchesses, and opera stars that had been sent to the front and delighted with their becoming red cross uniform, let them-

selves be photographed for every imaginable magazine. These amateurs were gradually replaced by competent nurses, who were a real help to the wounded and who risked their lives in the most heroic manner in order to find the wounded and bear them to places of safety. French women of the best families have gone at night with lanterns to the battlefields from which the wounded had already been removed, in the hope of finding amongst the apparently dead those who might have tetanus. And of all the horrors they have to go through the soldiers say that the most awful is to be perfectly conscious and yet unable to give a sign or say a word and hear themselves spoken of as being dead or dying.

Queens as well as women from every other sphere of life have taken courses in nursing and have, as a rule, afterwards taken their profession quite seriously. In Austria archduchesses have been seen scouring the floors of the hospital, and many other women who were previously merely women of luxury have experienced the regeneration of personal activity. Large numbers of Englishwomen have founded hospitals and worked in the automobile ambulance service in Belgium, France,

and Servia, where they succour the wounded in the trenches and alleviate need in the devastated villages. Especially in Servia many of these women have succumbed to illness and deprivation. The women of France have in a most noble manner helped their country to bear the war. The war has for them as for the Belgians meant a double sorrow, the sorrow for their dead and for their ravaged country. Both the greater and the smaller women's societies have everywhere quietly mobilized themselves for the new duties that the war brought with it, as well as for the duties they had set themselves before the war. Many of the women who expose their lives either at the front or in the hospitals—where they are threatened by typhoid and other perils—have during times of peace been enthusiastic sportswomen and have therefore well-trained bodies, have learned to act quickly and with presence of mind and endurance.

It is such women as these who do the best work with the ambulance and in the hospitals. Women have also arranged for the transportation of wounded soldiers as well as the transportation of clothes and presents to the

soldiers. They have opened bath houses, field kitchens, canteens, and water filters, and these often on a very large scale and at the cost of incredible self-sacrifice. They have had relief-stations twenty yards behind the trenches, they have cared for old women and children in Belgian villages whilst the shells were still raining over them.

The heroines of the ambulance and hospital service are numberless and many are those women who in their service of love have sacrified their lives or health. These heroines are found amongst the women of all nations, classes, and ages. I remember especially one, an Austrian peasant girl of eleven, who lost her leg whilst carrying water to the soldiers during an attack, because she thought her brother might be amongst the soldiers. And Edith Cavell, who whilst doing a nurse's service also helped soldiers to escape —a service that cost her her life. Many of the women who have looked death in the face and have shown courage and presence of mind are nuns. As, for instance, the French sister Gabrielle, who by her calm and noble bearing made such an impression on the German commander that she was

able to save both her hospital and its forty patients.

It is often Christian love that gives these and other nurses the strength to bear hardships, danger, and sufferings.

In other cases they have been prompted by the love of humanity alone, independent of any confession. For most women these feelings have been bound up with patriotic enthusiasm. Others again have naturally been carried away by the same feelings that cause men to volunteer. Some of these have not had much reserve of mercy and compassion. Therefore it is not strange that one sometimes hears of nurses who have become callous and who have shown less patience than the doctor in taking the necessary trouble to save a patient's leg or arm and who answer patients brusquely.

A seeming callousness, however, has for many been the only way to endure all the horrors they have had to witness.

Most of the women who have devoted themselves to nursing have probably refrained from thinking and have been satisfied merely to act. But now and again one gets a glimpse of the state of mind of some more advanced

women,—when they see the madness behind the work to which they have devoted themselves; when they see transport after transport of men, that a short time before were healthy and strong, mutilated and torn turned over to them to be nursed back to life and—if they are saved —returned to the community, wrecks for the rest of their lives. It is best for these sufferers that their nurses hardly have time to think, for many of them would no doubt have lost their minds brooding over the awful meaninglessness of their work.[1]

I look upon *women's personal participation*

[1] A Swedish nurse—for also several Swedish women have volunteered their services—writes from Vienna: "As for the new experience that we gain in nursing these poor mutilated soldiers I can only pray that there will not be cause to use it at home. It would no doubt have been a blessing for many of our patients, if they had died on the battle-field.

"On my night round when my ears are filled with the ceaseless cries and groans of the wounded, the direct consequences of the war present themselves to one in all their ghastliness and I ask myself with horror, if *this* is the result of intercourse between nations in the twentieth century. Very few of the patients can sleep without drugs, and even then they get at the most a few hours' rest from their agony. Afterwards they lie there again in their torment; and *what* torment must many of these poor fellows suffer! These war hospitals should be visited and studied by responsible representatives of the governments of the different nations. Perhaps then the sword would not rest so lightly in the scabbard when difficulties between the states occurred."

in the war as a proof of the misuse of equality and of an atavistic love of war, and as false patriotism—not, to be sure, the spontaneous participation of primitive women when they have stood at the sides of their husbands in moments of desperation, as in Servia and Montenegro—but the English women's cold-blooded training to kill.

It was not enough that Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughters and their paper *The Suffragette* agitated for war with the same heat with which they waged their own war for the vote; it was not enough that English women spoke passionately and agitated energetically at public meetings for recruits and that they in many other ways, especially by their personal influence, helped the cause, no, they needs must enlist by the hundred in the women's reserve corps, that have trained and armed themselves for immediate participation in the war. This army of women consists to a great extent of the same women who took part in the suffragette fights and hunger strikes. They are married as well as unmarried. There are aristocratic women and servants, women between the ages of eighteen and forty, in this army. They are dressed in

khaki and trained by non-commissioned officers and lay especial stress on good marksmanship. They train in signalling, fencing, marching, dispatch-riding; they learn how to dig and fit up trenches, how to handle supplies and cook; they receive instruction in the care of the sick and in hygiene of the field. This woman's army looks forward to being sent to the front and believes that it is only English conservatism that keeps the government from giving them permission to go!

To everybody with any depth of insight the warring woman must seem a painful contradiction in terms. To be a woman implies the giving and protecting of life, and the whole future significance of woman's increased rights is dependent on her reverence for this mission and her abhorrence of all destruction of life, especially of the mass destruction of war. But it is perfectly logical, that war for patriotic reasons should appear to those mentalities who found acts of violence a worthy means of furthering women's rights.

It is not only the women of Servia and Montenegro who have loyally and bravely fought at the sides of their husbands, one also hears of Russian and Polish women who have

dressed as men and entered the ranks. Sometimes this has been so as not to be separated from a beloved husband or a lover. But more generally these women are inspired by patriotism or sometimes perhaps by the love of adventure. Russia is said to have its Jeanne d'Arc: a middle-class girl from Irkutsk, Ludmilla Ogareff, who believed herself called in a holy vision to fight for her country. She covered the 4800 miles to the front—mostly on foot—in three months; took part in the battles, was taken prisoner during a courageous attack, but was later given her freedom again. Quite a number of Slavic women have disfigured or coloured their hands and faces so as to appear like men when they smuggled themselves into the ranks in place of some fallen soldier. In the spring of 1915 it was estimated that about four hundred Russian women had taken part in the war, and about fifty had already fallen.

Woman as a partaker in war is a warning for those who have a too optimistic idea of the influence that woman's vote will have for the cause of peace. It has been said that women never "realized," that their husbands and sons went out to murder and be murdered.

But we have seen that millions of women have greeted a war in which their sons and husbands have been killed with enthusiasm. And what is more, instead of drying the tears of orphans and lessening the suffering of the wounded, they wish themselves to make children fatherless and to wound and mutilate! Many men look upon woman as the gracious power that is needed to regenerate society, the power that has taught man love, yet now we see that there are many women who not only glorify war but who are anxious to partake in it.

How can we then expect that "this man-made world" will be regenerated through woman's vote, if woman by her personal share in the war sanctions those means of settling national misunderstandings that she has claimed to wish to combat with her vote? The "militants" in the woman's movement have now, if ever, placed themselves in the position of self-contradiction that their false premises in the question of their own methods of combat were bound to bring them.

CHAPTER XV

WOMAN'S WORK DURING THE WAR

MANY more women than those that have already become ill, or insane, or who have committed suicide because of this war would have succumbed to similar fates if their trembling, eager hands had not been heaped with work, and the ache of their own wounds healed in the care of others.

Above all it has been the women of the farming districts, whose villages have come within the zone of war, that have done an important work. At the outbreak of the war in 1914 it was the women, both old and young, together with the old men and children, who gathered in the harvests; and the new harvests of 1915 sprouted and grew, thanks principally to woman's work. Women ploughed the fields, set the potatoes, sowed the grain, tended the vineyards and the gardens. The German women have worked like men in

the fields, and besides that they have had their usual work in the stables and the chicken yards, in the kitchen and for the care of the children, whom they have often had to take with them into the fields.

In France just the same picture meets the eye. And even in England—where comparatively few farm labourers are needed—the women have begun to see how healthy and joyful is work in the open, and have trained and volunteered for farm labour. Thousands of women have answered the call of the government to work for industry and commerce.

In view of the fact that forty per cent. of the workers in ammunition factories in Germany were women, and in view of the excellent work done by the French women in the same sphere, the English Government appealed to the upper classes for help in the production of ammunition. The appeal was answered by a demonstration of 400,000 women in London, who put themselves at the service of the government. In the degree that women's work comes into demand and she more and more replaces man, the wage question becomes burning. To be sure, the government has promised equal pay for equal

work; to be sure, a large conference of women have demanded this—as well as that the men who return from the war be given their former positions—and that the women who lose their work in this way be given other work. But though the demands for equal pay are granted by some concerns, the great majority of employers follow the old way of the greatest possible profit, and let the women work for a smaller wage. One can therefore understand the uneasiness of the men who fear, that when they return from the war, they will find it difficult, if not impossible, to procure work because the employers will continue to use cheap woman's labour. The problem is hardly as impending as the men assume, however, for many of them will never return, whilst others will return as invalids, incapable of taking up their former work. Many of the latter will probably take up some of the work that was formerly performed by women; in this way a certain degree of equalization will be brought about. And in view of the fact that conscription will probably be introduced and lengthened in every country—in preparation for "the new war"—the need of woman's work would seem of more vital importance to

the community than the question of lowered wages. But it is encouraging that women themselves are beginning seriously to consider the formerly overlooked question of equal pay for equal work, not only from the point of view of justice to self-supporting women, but from the point of the men too. Another justified claim that in England at least has been strongly emphasized was, that no volunteers should encroach upon the wage earners.

All the ladies who offered their services free of charge were asked to help those who were in stress from the war. English women have taken up the fight against all forms of "sweating," and lack of work. The lack of employment for women who depended on season work—those who made a living by the production of articles of luxury—was beginning to be very much felt. The limitation of luxury makes it necessary to find new fields of labour, and, as far as is possible, this has everywhere been done.

Woman's field of labour, especially in England, now covers a great deal of what was formerly man's territory. Women are employed as

Railway clerks
Railway porters
Ticket collectors
Stationmasters
Omnibus conductors
Tram conductors
Grocers' assistants
Packers
Messengers
Night telephone operators
Bookstall clerks
Motorvan drivers
Pithead labourers
Farm hands
Lift attendants
Motor agents
Milk purveyors
Butchers' assistants
Railway carriage cleaners
Post-girls
News-girls
Munitions and armaments workers
Sheep-dippers
Bank clerks
Van-guards
Clerks in government offices
Signallers
Club servants
Cigar and wine department attendants in some of the big stores.

Some of these positions have caused women to wear men's clothing, which is said to be quite becoming to the slender, lithe Englishwoman's figure. In England there is a crop of *automobile drivers* for service at the front; a *defence corps* of women, at the service of the municipal authorities in the cities, voluntary police women, etc., besides the above mentioned reserve corps of "military" women.

Many people have testified that it is thanks to the Parisian women that life in Paris has been able to follow its even course. Not only

does she stand in the shop as usual, but she replaces man in his sphere even if it has been that of coal-carrier or veterinarian. Everywhere women may be seen as bank clerks or in the post-offices, as conductors and letter carriers. The superficial "*Parisiennes*," whom strangers imagine to be entirely taken up with matters of the heart and dress, have adapted themselves to conditions so admirably, that it is said, that if they had been given the same training from the beginning as the men, they would make men superfluous in nearly every field! It has been estimated, that in all the warring countries at least fifty per cent. of the able-bodied men are in the war; in Servia practically all the men have partaken in the war. No one has had time to consider whether certain work was suitable for women, or not; they have had to do the hardest, roughest work.

In the German mining districts women now do most of the work that was formerly done by men; women are used as drivers of vans, trams, omnibuses, and milk waggons, etc. The two kinds of work that are indispensable —the production of foodstuffs and street cleaning—have had to be performed by the women.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt has summed up the situation thus:

> If a nation were deprived of women's work in the fields, in the factories, and in general commerce, if they did not supply the army with food and the state with money, the nation would not be able to exist, even were its armies composed of Alexanders and Napoleons.
>
> Superficial opposers of woman's political rights use the worn-out argument that women can not fight. They can fight and have proved it, but if they went to war, who would then support the nation? And she rightly asks: "Why should women fight? We ought to thank God that they do not enlist more than they do. During the quiet, lonely hours at home they learn to realize the significance of war's destruction far better than the men at the front."

In those cases where it is impossible to procure work for women, the unemployed are given instruction in household economies or some handicraft by which they can become self-supporting. The increase of woman's efficiency will therefore be a real gain from the war, which by its naked reality has put an end to so much dilettantism in both men and women and forced them to consider serious work. The doing away with a parasite

class and the creating of a productive class instead—which is the social goal of the future —will be very much hastened, even if there should be a strong reaction towards luxury and fast living after the war.

Nationalism and organization are the watchwords of the day both for the war and the financing of the war. The latter has to a very great extent depended on women. The elimination of luxury, the use of substitutes and old materials, the care in keeping and saving things, the use of formerly despised natural products, all these economic necessities of the war have, especially in Germany, been borne by the women, who according to all witnesses have borne them in a most admirable way. They have introduced a new and systematized food economy; they have planted, bottled, and preserved enormous quantities of garden products. "The kitchen saves the country," they say. The housewives have leagues to this end; they give lectures and courses in cooking and distribute war cook-books. The spheres of inventiveness and adaptability have in this way been greatly increased. All these new habits that call for

system and thrift will show their results in national housekeeping even after the war, when the present shortage of provisions does not make them necessary. Lectures have been given all over Germany about the duties of woman. It is the societies for *Frauendienst* and the large society *"Band Deutscher Frauenvereine"* that existed already before the war that have mobilized the women and been the centre for all the work that the war has called for.

But it is not only in the countries of the Central Powers that such movements have been started, but everywhere. Even the neutral countries of Europe suffer from restriction in imports and enormous increase in prices. All of them have been forced by the war to a "simplication of life" that has formerly been much talked about, but little tried. On the contrary, the "love of ease was quickly spreading during the age of inventions." All sorts of stupid luxuries were becoming necessities during the last decades, and not only for those classes that could easily procure them, but also for those where present luxury means future want. Necessity has now partly altered this. But just because simplicity

has been the fruit of necessity and not of conviction, we can assume that it will only be a passing phase. It is, as a matter of fact, already passing. A German author claims, that the newly created German fashions are quite as expensive as the deserted French fashions, and that the heels of German shoes are every bit as high as those of the French which no patriot would deign to wear. And this does not apply only to those who are still wealthy. After the war the standard of living amongst the masses will be lowered in every country and housewives will have to return to the endless petty tasks, cares, and methods of thrift, from which the prosperity of the last decades was emancipating them.

Because of this they will lose the time they had for intellectual self-improvement that had come to be a necessity to the younger generation of the middle classes. It will not only be luxuries that they will have to forego. No, in many cases it will be difficult or impossible to satisfy their justified demands for roomy, healthy homes, for nourishing food, for education, and uplifting recreation. The inevitable results of the war for most women

will be increased self-sacrifice and heavier burdens.

The women of all the warring countries have shown that they have been able to meet higher demands, not only in productive spheres of work but also in social spheres, than during any previous age. The great woman's movement has now, if ever, proved its indirect value as a school for organization and discipline. Without this preparation women would not have been able to make such effective use of the already created institutions, nor have been able to create the new ones, that have so admirably adapted themselves to ever changing conditions. Community service has helped to even out differences in opinions and social standing, though it was probably only during the first wave of nationalism that political opinions were forgotten.

Especially in England, France, Germany, and Austria women have had ample opportunity to show their ability in quickly coping with the care of refugees and their own destitute countrymen, who have been expelled from the enemies' country. On the eastern as well as on the western fronts the refugees from the devastated villages have given women the

most to do. I need not go into details here about this work, for it is too well known. Even America has sent many of her daughters to partake in this work and has sent large sums to alleviate the unheard-of sufferings.

In England the newly created *Woman's Emergency Corps* has taken hold of all the different branches of this work, and in Germany similar organizations have done relief work for East Prussia. Even the women of Russia and the Balkan states have been active, but in Russia all organization is as difficult to attain as it is easy and excellent in Germany, nor has it been as easy for me to procure information about woman's activities in Russia as it has been from the other warring countries. However, even in Russia quite a number of women's societies have been founded for different purposes and women of all classes, including the two empresses and the grand-duchesses, have been enthusiastic supporters of the Red Cross and other charity.

In Italy women have also followed the example of the women in the other warring countries.

In the neutral countries that are situated between warring countries—Holland and

Switzerland—the women as well as the men, the poor as well as the rich, have done splendid work both to alleviate the want of the refugees and to keep up international communications between the warring countries, etc.

The *Anti-Orloograad* of Holland comprises about three hundred societies and several thousand members. Its object is maintenance of international co-operation; there are branches for the same purpose in other countries as well.

This need of intermediaries for the sake of news and contact between families whose different members are scattered, as well as between soldiers and prisoners and their families, is something new for this war. The latter have, for instance, been anxious about the treatment of prisoners in the prison-camps and have wished for news concerning these. Switzerland has in every respect the best qualifications for a happy solution of these problems. In Geneva the *Agence des prisonniers de guerre* and in Bern the *Internationale Friedensbureau* have in many cases been able to procure information and put scattered relations in touch with each other. In every country there are a multitude of

women's societies as well as associations of both men and women for help in every sphere where victims of the war may be found. For the wounded there is the Red Cross service behind the front and in the hospitals; there are convalescent homes, invalids' homes, and schools to teach invalids new professions. There are societies for the care of prisoners, for the exchange of letters between the prisoners and their families, and for the exchange of invalids; in this connection Sweden has had an opportunity to distinguish herself.

There are societies for the help of destitute foreigners, and for the help of families, that are stranded in the enemy's country. The pacifists in England have, for instance, done much charitable work for the Germans left there. There are societies whose aim is to procure homes for the homeless, clothes and food for the destitute. New institutions have been founded for the collection and distribution of presents to the soldiers and prisoners and their destitute families.

There are—I believe primarily in Germany —organizations for the distribution of good books to the trenches and the hospitals. In this way a great deal of formerly unused

woman's energy has found scope. But how very much has at the same time been taken away from the natural claims of life! From the care of little children, because the mothers have not had the time or strength under the added burdens of the household, the exactions of self-support, or works of charity. It is already said that the children are running wild for lack of a father's discipline and because not even the mothers can give them as much attention as before.

The children's chapter must be left aside here though it is so closely related with that of the women. The harm the young generation has had, and will have, to suffer, both physically and mentally, in consequence of this war, belongs to what the English race-hygienist, Dr. Saleeby, calls "the longest cost of war."

One of the possible good results of the war may be a *year of compulsory state service* for women, a question that has already previously been discussed in Germany and Sweden. One has now learnt to see, how useful it would have been for women in their social work, as well as for the new exactions in the housework, if they had had a more thorough training in these branches.

In *The Century of the Child* I already in 1900 proposed the idea of "woman's service" with the view of preparing young women for the duties of motherhood and homemaking. Since then the idea has been more developed in several countries, but no country has tried to realize it. Now the war has proved to what extent a country needs woman's activity in the care of the sick, in social relief work, in the organization of production to replace the activities of the missing men. The introduction of *compulsory service for women* is already the order of the day in Germany. The same idea is taking root everywhere in the world. Not only in Germany but also in the other warring countries women have already gained such an insight into administration and organization, and such training in method and endurance, that they will make excellent instructors for the masses of young women that they will have to train.

One has pointed to the great amount especially of women's charity that the war has called forth as a proof of the ennobling influence of war. But—as a German author points out—thousands of those women who

offered their services in the beginning soon tired, when they noticed that the romantic experiences they looked for were not realized. And those who have been unselfish and conscientious in their service of love, have not *gained* these qualities during the war but have only had an opportunity of showing them in a splendid way. And even as regards these women this author believes any idea of the ennobling influences of war is vain. The very women who at a sick-bed are devoting themselves to the saving of a life may at times listen to the story of an air-raid with burning cheeks and flaming eyes. "How many dead?" they ask. "Only fifty? A pity there were not more!"

War does not ennoble humanity in any country. The ancient sculptures with the face of a human, the wings of an angel, but the body of a beast, are to me a symbol of even advanced people in the warring countries. There is no lack of witnesses to the fact that only the first intense weeks of the war were able to annul petty rivalries, intrigues, and fault-finding amongst the women. The word "unpatriotic" became their weapon, whereas the word "patriotism" was used as a cloak to hide a multitude of petty sins.

The same holds good of both patriotic and religious revivals, each can for a time bring forth a new man; the old one is, however, by no means dead, but comes to life again when the emotions have had time to cool.

The following lines may serve as a summing up of the foregoing and as an expression of my hope for the future:

The present war has proved the women's movement just in all its aims, and in this way it has in one important respect—viz., regarding woman's *right* to work—given progress a great impetus. The "new women" have been proved right, especially in their demand that no *outside* hindrances be put in the way of their doing any work that is beneficial to the general welfare. The war has put a stop to any discussion of this matter, for millions of women have proved their capability in many spheres that men formerly considered distinctly theirs.

The woman's movement has always demanded *equal pay for equal work*. Now that millions of women are forced to become supporters of their families, this claim can hardly be successfully disputed any more. And the fact that so many women are forced to be

family supporters is bound to increase the number of women engaged in professional and industrial work even after the war.

Even though one therefore must expect a temporary shifting of man's and woman's spheres of work, it is to be hoped that on the whole the only natural division of work between the sexes, that by which each finds the best expression for its *especial* qualifications, will in the main remain the same. To be sure, this war has taken women into the battle-fields as combatants. But women's heroism has principally been shown in their endeavours to succour those that the war has brought into distress. The future will hardly bring about any change in the present order of things: that in which woman who gives life also uses her strength to preserve life, not to destroy life.

CHAPTER XVI

WOMAN'S PEACE WORK

FROM America, the land of youthful courage and initiative, we have received many good suggestions for *Peace work* in general as well as for the closing of peace.[1]

Many eloquent women's voices from the warring as well as from the neutral countries in Europe have joined with those of America against this war. Suffragettes have laid stress on the importance of woman's suffrage, and pointed out that all woman's hatred of war will not create a new system before women have a say in the politics of their country. Pacifistic women are, as a rule, suffrage women, and *vice versa*. They have generally been moderate in their demands for the present, but radical in principle. They have admitted that even women have accepted the spirit of war and the teaching that might makes right. They have not been satisfied

[1] See note p. 223.

with the sentimental assurance, that the love of humanity will make war impossible; on the contrary, they have emphasized the fact that indefatigable work on a *foundation* of international justice must precede a condition of justice that can be appreciated by *all*. They have not spoken of immediate disarmament. But they have said, that just as the individual in every country subjects himself to the laws that protect everyone's life, property, and rights, or, as in politics the question is decided by votes, not fists, so the nations should in future subject themselves to international justice and the means that uphold it.

Women have during the war come more and more to embrace Olive Schreiner's true saying that:

> we, the bearers of men's bodies, who supply its most valuable munition, who . . . shed our blood and face death that the battle-field may have its food, a food more precious to us than our heart's blood,—it is we especially who, in the domain of war, have our word to say, a word no man can say for us.

And—

> war will pass when intellectual culture and activity have made possible to the female an equal share

in the control and governance of modern national life; it will probably not pass away much sooner; its extinction will not be delayed much longer.

The most passionate protests against war and against the patriotic figures of speech with which war is lauded and which have duped men, have come from the socialistic women, who have reached their hands out to each other across the ruins and streams of blood. From Germany they have cried: "We want no fight until the nations bleed to death, no annexations or any peace that is humiliating to any one nation." But in Germany as in England and France such voices are silenced. We have seen that whilst intellectual men have been pouring out slanders about the enemy, pacifistic women have through their papers and organizations warned against this fostering of hatred between the nations, against the infallibility of their own country, and have urged reconciliation and reason.[1]

Woman's immediate work for peace began already at the outbreak of the war. The

[1] An American, Anna Eckstein, had, for instance, before the war, at the last International Peace Congress in Stockholm, carried a resolution for a World-Petition for the guaranteeing of peace.

International Suffrage Alliance was then ready for action. It issued a manifesto appealing to the governments to ward off and hinder war. The manifesto was delivered to Sir Edward Grey and the ambassadors of the foreign powers in London.

In August a mass meeting was called by the Women's Co-operative Guild, the National Federation of Women Workers, and the Women's Labour League. The International Suffrage Alliance, the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and other Suffrage Unions agreed to co-operate. The meeting was held in Kingsway Hall, London, on Tuesday night, August 4, 1914, and resolutions were passed against war, and women's societies were urged to do all they could to alleviate the sufferings of the war. The next step of the International Suffrage Alliance for Peace was an appeal of eighteen women's societies representing thirteen countries, to the President of the United States for intervention. Several women's initiatives for peace had preceded this. An English woman from Canada—Grace Wales, at present a teacher in Wisconsin—had, in her anguish of mind at the sufferings of her own and other countries,

thought of a plan for *continuous mediation without the suspension of arms.*

This plan contains a most sensible peace suggestion: that a commission study the problems connected with the war, suggest a plan for the just solving of contentions, and present this plan to the warring parties with the request that they use it as a foundation for their negotiations. And if any, or several of the warring parties should refuse to do this, the commission should ask them for their own stipulations and try to make a compromise and not give up until they had found a basis of negotiation that was satisfactory to all. I need not point out here with what enthusiasm the women of America embraced this suggestion, how they appealed to President Wilson to second it, and how the leading thought was finally accepted by the Women's Congress at The Hague; nor how a deputation of women travelled with Grace Wales's petition and The Hague resolution to both warring and neutral countries, and how, when this proved futile, the idea came to life again in the Ford expedition.

In the North it was decided to keep a *Scandinavian Woman's Peace Sunday.* The

idea was embraced with warmth, but it was frustrated by the Queen of Sweden, who did not consider it a suitable time to discuss peace. When later the Swedish women took up the idea alone and kept a general peace Sunday on the 27th of June in the whole of Sweden, the resolution was, to be sure, accepted by nearly 100,000 women, but this number was a small percentage of the number that there might have been, if it could have taken place when it was first planned.

Women also took part in the international meeting at The Hague, April 7–10, 1915, that gathered experts in the technique of international law and peace for the purpose of deciding on a *minimum programme* of the demands that must be granted in order to ensure abiding peace. Representative men and women in both the warring and neutral countries have since then joined this programme and have appealed to people to sign it. All these movements are for the same end. But *one* great movement would be of more avail than all these lesser ones from different sources.

Women as well as men are trying to uphold international communication and further the

brotherly spirit between nations, which is so essential to abiding peace.[1]

As to the Women's Congress at The Hague there is now a complete report on it, and besides it has been so much written about that I need not give an account of it here. What I want to lay stress on is, that all the representative Swedish ladies who have described

[1] An American, Miss Guthrie Cocke, on the 9th of February, 1915, founded *The World Union of Women* in Geneva, Switzerland. Many well-known women joined it and at present it has about 6000 members. The leading thought of its programme is as follows:

"We have established it upon the common basis of womanly compassion, which we shall endeavour to manifest justly in national thought and act. We shall battle in love for permanent peace. We shall strive for the mutual education of women and for the consequent advancement of humanity. In the belief that women are created to love and not to hate, we engage to devote ourselves to increase this love in the world; to expel the evil born of hatred; to extend this love to our sisters of every station of life and every country and to spread internationalism by the establishment of a means of communication between the women of the entire world."

Its members have promised to "try to make known all facts which tend to increase mutual esteem and understanding and to create a vast current of sympathy between men and between governments; abstain, as far as possible, from unnecessarily spreading news or reports which could raise feelings of ill-will, bitterness, or hatred between individuals or between nations."

THE WORLD UNION OF WOMEN,
Address 6, Rue de Rhône,
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND.

it—and they have had very different viewpoints: from conservative to socialist-democratic—have all been unanimous in their praise of its noble tenor and of the elevating impressions that they gained during the memorable days. Above all, they were moved by the noble way in which the women of the warring countries met each other.

The attitude that the women of the different warring countries took—or were forced to take—towards the congress is significant. All the *Russian* women were denied passports. About one hundred and eighty *English* women had decided to attend the congress but the authorities prevented their departure, so there were actually only three—but all three representative—English women to plead the cause of peace. The two largest women's societies of France sent a letter, in which the *French* women gave their reasons for not attending. One can understand their reasons so long as parts of France and Belgium are in the hands of the enemy. The tone of their letter was noble and was in essence for peace. They pointed out that their programme was for compulsory arbitration, the upbringing of their children in the spirit of peace, and an

absolute respect of national rights. "But," they continued, "how could we meet the women of those countries, that have devastated our country and Belgium? The German women have not taken exception to the unjust actions of their government and we can not co-operate with others before the respect for justice is accepted as the foundation of all social work."

The *German* women had not the French women's excuse for not appearing. A little courageous group of German women were present. How courageous they were is illustrated by the fact that the directors of the "*Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine*" issued a manifesto declaring that the women who had taken part in The Hague Congress had shown such lack of patriotic feeling that they in future would be denied any position of influence in the "*Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine*"! There were, however, very strong protests against such measures from different sources, especially from the *German Women's Peace Society*, where they assert that peace-loving patriotism is just as worthy as the patriotism of those who wish to continue the war.

It should be mentioned, however, that if,

on the one hand, the majority of women in Germany and Austria refused to support their noble and far-sighted compatriots, who laboured for peace and international reconciliation at The Hague Congress, there were, on the other hand, women in France who refused to second the reasons that kept the big French societies from joining the same congress.

Over fifty French women from every sphere of activity sent an address to the congress wherein they expressed their disapproval of the unhealthy way in which descriptions of war-atrocities were indulged in, and of the extravagant sowing of seeds of hatred, without a thought of the harvest that would sprout from these seeds; and that they for their part were convinced that every time words of sympathy were expressed, it did not happen in vain, and that it above all fell to women—even of the warring countries—to express these words. They appreciated the need of maintaining the link that united them with *those* German women who had had to dare so much in coming to the congress.[1]

[1] The foremost representative of peace in Germany, Frau Perleu, was refused permission to pass the border!

They explained in detail all the reasons for a woman's peace movement. Above all, women should speak and work for future peace, especially as men, who have the power the women lack, are hindered by political and patriotic reasons from expressing their opinions on the war and their hope of future peace.

There was a warm note of peace in the address that the *Austrian* women sent, explaining their reasons for not attending the congress.

The address from the German women's societies was on the other hand nationalistic and in accord with the views of the government: discipline has brought even the German women to a blind obedience of the will of the State.

After the congress committees were everywhere formed that are in touch with each other. Their organ is "*The International*," and the different sections of *The International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace* are in close touch with each other. All of them realize that the solidarity of women in this time of horror and suffering is the one gleam of light that promises the dawn of a better day.

The absence of the sentimental arguments of the past is a feature worthy of note, for it shows the tendency of the present day peace-movement as well as woman's conception of it.

It has been said, for instance, that war would cease when people were Christians. Women look to reason and *justice* for the creating of new relationships between nations, though they, at the same time, admit, that feelings of sympathy and admiration are the indispensable mortar that holds the stones of international justice together.

The American women took a predominant place at the congress, not only because of their number but also because the chairman of the congress was Jane Addams. She led the negotiations in an exemplary manner, with equal clearness and presence of mind. If at any time there seemed danger of the rule forbidding the introduction of all war-topics in the discussion being violated, Jane Addams understood the most tactful way to ward off the danger.

The leading thought of the convention was expressed in Mrs. Catt's address of welcome: "You speak for millions of broken hearts. You introduce a new era."

My friends have told me that some of the most touching moments during the congress were due to the German women. One of them not only spoke of peace with the shining light of conviction but condemned any thought of annexation as a crime. The German woman who at the close of the congress suggested sending telegrams of greetings to Germany and France was hailed with enthusiasm. So was an Austrian, Rosika Schwimmer, who gave the congress its most unforgettable moments by asking all present to think in silence a few moments of all the young men who would never again see the light of the sun or the stars, never again see their native country; who had been robbed of the life that lay before them. Everybody rose. "And," my friend writes, "in the silence that ensued in the large hall with its thousands of souls, we gained more strength than from all the speeches put together."

The women of The Hague Congress did not put all the blame of war on the ill-will of the enemy, nor on the stupidity of their own diplomats. No, they admitted that woman's indifference in working for the cause of peace was also largely to blame.

One of the uplifting features of the congress was the self-victory by which the different national view-points were kept in abeyance, so that unity could be attained. Another proof of self-victory was the dignity, the freedom from all hysteria, and the poise that characterized the negotiations. This was to a great extent due to the absence of the hysterically nationalistic elements from Germany as well as from England and France. The hysterical English women are just the militant suffragettes who, like the German nationalistic women, considered their countrywomen who went to The Hague Congress traitors.

. . . . . .

The pacifists, even in the warring countries, have done all they could for the sake of international peace, for the exchange of prisoners, for the procuring of information regarding scattered family members, and, not least, for the collecting of material about acts of kindness shown the enemy on the scene of war.

A young German, Erna Granthoff, Romain Rolland's translator, has, for instance, collected "*documents of love*" from every source,

that bear witness to the depth of that human love which war has forced men to outrage.

But comparatively few women enlist in this holy crusade against national hatred. For every thousand pacifists there are a million egging men on to war. It is unfortunately not true, as some women assure us, that in being born a woman—that is, for the beautiful mission of giving and preserving life, not destroying it—we are born to hate war. Women in the warring countries have not only pawned their gold and jewels for the war, but they have urged their sons and husbands to enlist, and they are willing to lose, to sacrifice all, rather than that their country should fail to crush the enemy. One may still ask:

> Where are the women? Should they not be united in an international host against the suicide of Europe, and demand a peace that does not entail the subjugation of *any* nation, and save for humanity the young lives that the war will demand to the end?

But, instead, women, just as men, put the national goal before that of humanity. *The International Union of Women*, that counts

members in twenty-two countries, has not been able to unite women for any common cause; in fact, it has hardly been able to hold together.

It will be a long time before woman will relinquish *the dogma of the necessity of war and a nation's right to world-power.*

The women of the Great Powers understand as little as the men that the welfare, culture, and honour of a country are not dependent on the number of its population and its size. Until the majority of women in the world can say with our Selma Lagerlöf:

As long as my tongue can utter a word
As long as blood flows in my veins,
I shall work for the sake of peace,
Though it cost me my life and happiness;

humanity is still far from peace.

. . . . . .

The Swedes have felt a justified pride in the discovery, that the first idea of a woman's peace union was originated by Fredrika Bremer. She visited America during the middle of the last century and became acquainted with the foremost men and women

of that country and found new inspiration in her struggle for the emancipation of women.

Her proposal was published in August, 1854, in the *Times*. In her introduction she speaks of "A condition of war in the world that is like a bleeding wound, ravaging people and countries." She pointed out, that women's community spirit and feeling of motherhood should prompt them to co-operate for the sake of counteracting the effects of the war and for the sake of creating "an era of peace, prosperity, and felicity that would spread itself over the earth when the flames of war were quenched and the time of devastation was over."

If women had been ready to carry out Fredrika Bremer's great inspiration, the world would be a different place now!

But it is futile to speak of what *might* have been before the flood. The thing of importance is, how women will act *after* the flood. Will women after the war still bow down to the old conviction that they must *bear* their fate because they are unable to *shape* it? Will they continue to bear and bring up sons, whose bodies are torn to pieces, whose brains are destroyed by more and more

effective technical weapons? Has the structure of woman's soul been altered as that of man's through the passion of world-power? Do they also believe in the right of their race to subjugate the rest of the world by violence and power? Or will the war at least in *that* nation which has been called the "nation of mothers," have called forth a new perception of the world? Will they perceive that the development of the race towards a higher plane inevitably calls for a synthesis between nationalism and internationalism, between individualism and socialism? But, above all, will women have learnt, through the terrible sufferings of this war, that, if their daughters are to be spared the same horrors, all women must join the woman's movement and the suffrage movement in particular?[1]

As long as women continue to believe

[1] I have read a few chapters in an American book called *The World Storm and Beyond*, whose author, E. D. Schoonmaker, expresses just the same opinions about woman and the world war that I do. He points to the war as a burning irony of the modern idea, that woman's influence has feminized the world. And he also points out the irony of the old saying that woman's place is at the hearth, when for millions of women there is not a stone of the hearth left! He points out that the gap between what is called woman's function—motherhood—and the life destruction of war has never been greater.

"that war can never cease" they prove that they do not *will* it to cease. Nor did slavery and the pestilence cease until there were people who believed in their abolition. The same will be the case with poverty and war: they will continue until the wish to conquer them becomes a consuming fire. As long as the church looks upon slavery, cholera, poverty, and war as "the will of God" and men believe it, these things will not cease.

Therefore the first condition of woman's peace movement is, that all talk of the necessity of war, the ennobling influence, the beauty, and the eternity of war should be silenced on the lips of women; that their lips should never be opened except to proclaim that war belongs to those phases of life that must be conquered if humanity is to be humanized.

A synthesis must be found in the future between man's and woman's widely diversified views of the community. A possibility must be found of uniting what has hitherto been woman's sphere of power, the giving of, caring

He points out with truth that the greatest tension is not that between the warring nations but that between man's desire for power and woman's desire of motherhood, and that the future depends on whether woman's desire to make the world into a home will defeat man's desire to make it into a battle-field.

for, and upbringing of young lives, and man's wish to use his power in the service of the State. But this can not take place before the State ceases to increase its power and settle its difficulties by means of war. The claims of the *whole* community are (for the socialist as well as for the conservative parties opposing socialism) what is of real importance. In class fight as well as in the fight for national defence, man's enthusiasm is kindled to endurance and self-sacrifice by the knowledge that the goal for which he is fighting is of more importance than his life or personal welfare.

It has not been for the sake of a cause, an ideal, for the sake of the State, that woman has hitherto offered her greatest gifts, that she has used those powers that compel us to subordinate ourselves to something transcendent. It is to the *race* that woman's self-sacrifice has been devoted. And it is not, as man imagines, woman's individualism or egoism that prevents the thinking woman of our day from offering her services to the State and community—such as men have created them. It is not because women lack a feeling of solidarity, that the community does not yet have the same significance for them that

it has for men. No, it is because woman feels a greater solidarity with the *race* that she denies the right of the State to set itself a goal and to use means, that are believed to further the welfare of the State, but which ruin the lives and the prospects of the individuals. It is not from a lack of social and national feeling that the most highly developed women of the present day are opposed to war and are friends of peace. These women are the forerunners of the host, comprising men as well as women, that after this war will change from its very foundations the conception of the *right of the state* over the individual; *the duty of the State* towards the individual; and the *rights and duties of the different nations towards one another.*

It is just because of their social work as life conservers that women realize the futility of motherhood as well as of all the work they share with men for the uplift of the race—race-hygiene, the enlightening of the masses, and their ethical improvement—as long as the State through leading men and classes advocates a political philosophy that ends in a catastrophe such as the one we now witness—a catastrophe that will lead to the downfall of

Europe because of the conditions that the leaders of the different states make for what *they* consider the safety, power, and glory of their respective states.

. . . . . .

It goes without saying that the coming peace treaty will decide woman's future attitude towards peace. If peace merely becomes a truce with feverish preparations for the next war, then the same burning patriotism that women have shown during the war will find expression in inciting the losing parties to revenge, and all the parties to a competition in armaments. If any party gains some brilliant advantage through the war, the belief in war will be strengthened, brute power will be glorified, and all masculine qualities will be emphasized at the expense of feminine qualities. Men everywhere, and unfortunately even some women, are teaching the doctrine that the German poet proclaims in these words:

Die Waffen hoch!
Das Schwert is Mannes eigen.
Wo Männer fechten,
Hat das Weib zu schweigen.

(To arms, to arms—
A sword—a man!
Where men are fighting
The women shall keep silent.)

Or as someone has expressed it in Swedish: "We are living again in a time of more primitive values, but also truer values: manly will, manly strength, renunciation, sacrifice." That the last two qualities in *every age* have been womanly qualities seems by this writer to be forgotten. "A victory for woman's suffrage" —he explains—"is nothing imposing compared to the storming of a fortress or the conquering of a province!"

Of all the fine flowers in the garden of our "masculine renaissance" I believe this coxcomb from Sweden to be quite the finest! I only give this example of male stupidity because even some women talk in the same strain. In Sweden they have not only sung the praise of war but they have also taken part in the fortunately unsuccessful attempts to incite Sweden's participation in the war.

To be sure, many men and women believe men's weariness of war will make them wish for woman's entrance into political life so as to give it a tendency towards peace instead

of towards war. But just as the alcohol-producing states of America oppose woman's suffrage because women are upholders of temperance, so will the men who are economically interested in the production of armaments oppose woman's suffrage with increased energy in case the conclusion of peace is such that it results in the continuance of competing armaments and the military spirit remains predominant.

Men will, to be sure, find it much more difficult to think of reasons against woman's suffrage after having in every country during the war accorded them the highest praise for their patriotism, their courage, their endurance, their self-sacrifice, their competence, their prudence, and for their ability of organization. Men have testified that women have worked and endured like men during the war. In France there has already been some talk to the effect that widows of French soldiers should be given suffrage, and a good many men say that the war has brought the suffrage question much nearer to its solution. An Englishman for instance says:

> The question of woman's suffrage will not be the cause of any further strife in this country. It will be

solved without difficulty. Women have during this critical time for our country so exceeded all our expectations of their patriotism, self-sacrifice, and their ability of organization, that equal rights will be given them as the natural consequence of their test in citizenship. There will, indeed, be other and more difficult questions to be settled than this rather self-evident matter.

A French author writes: "The biggest problems to be solved after the war will be the alcohol question and the question of woman's suffrage."

A social democrat in the Prussian diet has said: "In the coming suffrage-reform even women must be included."

I do not believe, however, that the war will immediately procure suffrage for the German women. The philosophy of man's rights is still so strong, and the appreciation of woman still so slight, that her contribution to the war will hardly have made enough impression on the conservative party in Germany to procure women the vote for which they have during the war sent in a petition.

In England, on the other hand, suffragettes laid down *their* fight when the war began, and this fact will probably help after the

war to solve the problem which already before the war was nearing its close. Women's suffrage will have little weight in the question of war and peace before women can vote *everywhere*, in America and in *all* the great powers of Europe.

It is certain that the war will help woman's suffrage only on the sole condition that the coming peace means a victory of right over might, and that, if this hope is unfulfilled, the "man-made" world will dominate over "feminism"—for a time.

But, even *if* woman gains the vote, its value for human evolution depends on woman's making herself free from *passionate nationalism* to which she during the war has succumbed just as much as man. I heartily endorse the saying of a German author: "*Die Frauenbewegung muss pazifistisch werden oder nicht mehr sein*" ("Woman's movement must be pacifistic or cease to be").[1]

[1] I quite agree with what a Dane wrote at the time when his country-women gained the vote in 1915:

"It is very difficult to form even a vague idea of what rôle woman will play in the political field, but one may rest assured that in the long run it will assume considerable importance. The fight between the sexes, of which the gaining of equal political suffrage is, at present, the last act, signifies a deflection from the whole previous evolution of our race. Man's will, man's way of

I wonder if the women who have suffrage will have the courage to be branded as unpatriotic because they politically oppose the war and everything to do with war?

Dauntless confessors—those who have the courage to go their own way against the stream—are always rare. And women have during this war shown their usual readiness to drift with the current. They have openly shown their sympathy with the prisoners and the wounded of the enemy. Both German and French women have been reproached for showing an "unpatriotic" interest in the enemies' soldiers. But these same women become indignant at the least hint of any

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feeling and reasoning, has hitherto stamped morals and politics, art and literature; woman's part has mostly been receptive. Now she suddenly finds herself equally responsible with man in the managing of her country's most momentous affairs; it is not only her right, but her duty, seriously to consider the solving of both political and social problems. How can one expect that this should have no effect, that everything shall remain as before? But *how* the effect will show itself, it is impossible to foresee. That one of the first results will be a greater emphasizing of sentimental and ethical viewpoints—sometimes anything but broad-minded—seems to be proved by experience in Australia, and in those of the United States where women have suffrage. But this hardly permits us to prophesy about a more remote future, for the simple reason that we do not yet know whether and how woman's revolutionized position may react upon her own physical and psychic life.

shortcomings in their own country and show an incredible optimism as regards conditions there! This holds good of both Empresses and schoolgirls. Whilst the Russians have exercised just as unrestrained oppression in Russia, Finland, and the Baltic provinces as usual, the Russian Empress Dowager declares:

> As surely as unity for a just cause has any meaning, it will be we who win. Have you seen how the war has soldered the Russian people to an inseparable whole? As long as the war continues, political parties and national differences do not exist in the realm of the Tzar. The conservative parties and the working-man's go hand in hand; Poles, Finns, and Jews have become Russians. No one knows how long this terrible war will continue, but we can count on one thing, however long and bloody it is—it will be the upholders of justice and not the violators of promises and neutral countries who will win.

This statement is typical of nationalistic women in every country. The tiniest crafts think that they are great ships because they drift with the dirty waves of chauvinistic passion.

And even in the neutral countries there are few women, even amongst the most advanced,

who have attained the high standpoint that unpartisan neutrality presupposes.

The conservative, militant, and nationalistic women of Sweden glorify and defend everything that is German. The democratic, pacifistic, and internationally disposed women of Sweden on the other hand see no flaws in England or France. And the same is probably the case in other neutral countries. Very few women could—when asked on which side their sympathies are in this war—sincerely answer as one American:

> We sympathize with the German, French, English, and Belgian men who man the trenches. With the German, French, English, and Belgian men who fill the hospitals. With the mothers who have borne them. With the fathers who witnessed their growth and gave them loving care. With the women who loved these men. With the children they left behind when they went out to war. With the poor peasant woman who fights against the poverty this war has forced upon her. With the breadless of the cities. With the men who fight for their country, but in their hearts hate war. With the many who as a result of this war must suffer deprivation all the rest of their lives. With the innocent whose fields have been trampled by the invading armies. With the hosts who under the pressure of misdirected patriotism

must sacrifice their lives. It is with those we sympathize!

It is only out of *such* a noble attitude that abiding peace will come on earth!

Life would not be worth living if we did not believe that the number of those who feel thus is ever increasing. We must believe that the future will corroborate the opinion of the English author H. M. Swanwich:

This war has been the most terrible shock to all thinking women. Instinct alone will not longer suffice. They must attain a new certainty through *an attitude that puts them in a rational relation to society*. Some of us feel that we are mere checkers for the politicians, and we are beside ourselves at the thought that they claim the privilege of destroying our life, our work, our homes, our children, the very race whose protectors we are.

Through such an attitude the men-pacifists will, she hopes, have their ranks swelled with—

women-pacifists, full of woman's enthusiasm for peaceful life, peaceful beauty and achievements, women capable of instilling a positive joy in the hard and difficult striving for liberty and love; and then the peace-movement will be stronger than ever before in the history of the world.

We have to believe the young German woman who says:

There are people who thought, and still think, that this war was necessary. Let us hope, however, that they also think "never more, never more so much sorrow, so many tears on earth." And therefore I believe that the peace-movement will spread enormously in Germany after the war. Who is more suited than woman to partake in this work? You women who gave your beloved, you mothers who gave an only son, you mothers who gave all your sons, you sisters who no longer have a dear brother at your side, think of the future! Shall we young women who have a flock of healthy children playing round our knees have to sacrifice even them in twenty years? This must not happen! For who could then bring up their children with joy? Or are there women who bear their children for war? It is hard for me to believe this. German women will have to bear many children to fill the gaps, but not for war, for an everlasting and blessed peace.

Let us believe that the young Frenchman who sent the following greetings from the trenches to his friends in Paris will be proved right:

When the women of every country understand their social power and its possibilities, we need not longer fear an attack of one nation on another. The future

is clearing. If it should be my inevitable fate to leave this life tomorrow, I will leave it with the belief that the mothers and wives of every country understand their duty. I try to convince my comrades of this when we speak of the women we have left behind us and who have to suffer more from this than we.

After this, international solidarity will be better understood especially by the women. It will become the corner-stone for the coming society.

The last words of the young French soldier sum up the *great new thing* that has been born of the war. Formerly brotherliness, solidarity, and internationalism were mere words. Now they have been *experienced.* The world is great and coherent as never before. Life has a meaning that it never had before, because of the new feeling of responsibility that everyone has for the shaping not only in the narrow sphere of the individual but in the whole world, where great deeds and vile deeds stir our souls to a greater depth than ever before.

The Humanity of the future is tapping—like a child in its mother's womb—to be born, and only if this world-war is looked upon as the birth-throes of this new humanity can we live through it without losing our reason.

CHAPTER XVII

WOMAN'S STATE OF MIND

It is generally those women who by birth or marriage belong to two nations who wish most for peace. For instance, the French singer Yvette Guilbert—whose husband is German—appealed to the Queen of Holland to work for peace and free the men of Europe from the brutalizing influence of the work of war. Personally she does not throw blame on any especial nation; on the contrary, her letter breathes human love, devoid of all nationalism. There are women, to be sure, who in spite of their double nationality are entirely subject to the opinion of the country in which they live, and lack all understanding for other countries. But on the whole, no doubt, national hatred finds very shallow soil in internationally composed homes.

A Swedish lady-doctor thus describes her impressions from a trip to Germany where she

visited several families with whom she was acquainted:

The families are reduced, the young people are missing, the husband has fallen, or is at the front, or at home, a convalescent, the daughters are engaged in free-will service. The mothers are stonily calm; one of them with a dreary smile shows me the long bayonet that her son in the last moment wrenched from the hands of a Frenchman; another shows me her favourite literature,—a collection of poems of hate against England. And at every visit the same phrases about justified self-protection, and about the lies and villainy of the enemy, are drummed into my unbelieving ears. The most whole-hearted curses about the enemy, the most optimistic belief in their own victory. They are as absolutely indifferent to the victims of the war as they are indifferent to personal suffering. And I thought the awakening had come! They reject with resentment any thought of mass-suggestion being at the bottom of what they consider a national display of healthy strength. All my conciliatory attempts met with a stone wall. The most gentle of them all, a sensitive artist, who has loved and admired her neighbour nations, now wishes them wiped from the face of the earth; she cannot find words to express her hatred and contempt of them.

Other Swedes have given descriptions of similar conditions in France.[1]

[1] In this connection I may mention what Professor Tonnies in Kiel has said. He admits that the hatred of the enemies'

The fact that the majority of the women in the warring countries keep the torch of hatred alive is to a great extent due to *an unbalanced state of mind.* The women who have seen their husbands and sons killed before their eyes; the women whose homes have been burnt, whose little children have disappeared, or died, during the terrors of flight, or the women who have gone through every kind of horror—who have had to pass through the enemies' and their own countrymen's fire and who have during all these hardships had to bear children only to lose them soon again; the women who were wealthy one day and beggars the next; the women whose modesty and womanly instincts have been outraged, who have been raped by the enemy and who have been compelled to bear the hated burden of a child

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nations is as intense in the women as in the men; that the women take a lively interest in the war; they feel proud of the bravery of their men; their most noble feelings are awakened by the necessity for active help and self-sacrificing nursing, which demands as much bravery as the fighting itself. And he concludes by saying: "The more awful the destruction of the present war, the greater the armaments, the greater must the organization for the sake of peace be." He believes that it is to the neutral countries, and the women of every country, that we must look for mediation and reconciliation. And there are already a good many signs that point to this.

thus conceived; the women who have seen their old parents break down under mental and physical strain, may be left out of the question, for they are either dead or insane, or melancholy, for life. Or, if they have regained the strength to live, they are the robust natures in which the hatred—in this case justified—can gather and break like a boil, afterwards leaving the system healthy again.

But even the women who have not had to experience such horrors have during these twenty months of war lived a life that is bound to a great extent to undermine their mental balance. How many women have voluntarily left their homes and gone through all kinds of hardships and dangers, to seek a husband, or son, or lover, behind the front, only to arrive too late with their gift of love? How many have been called to a hospital to find the still living but crippled remains of a beloved husband? And all have lived in a condition of anxiety, that has only ceased when the knowledge of the worst has at last benumbed them. All of them have one moment been in an ecstasy of patriotic feeling, and in the next they have been in the black

depths of despair at the thought of the fate of their loved ones, of whom they cannot know whether they are dead, mutilated, sick, or imprisoned. Every day with trembling hands to open the death-list, every day to hear the doorbell ring with a sinking heart, every night to be wakened by terrible dreams, or to lie awake with one's imagination playing round the horrors of reality; and, in spite of this, to have to bear added burdens and to battle with poverty; to have to witness on every hand the same trials and tribulations, and yet to retain one's mental balance, this can be done only by very deep natures—or by very shallow natures. The great majority of women give way to some form of hysteria, one form of which is blind national idolization, and another of which is blind hatred of the enemy.

Women—at least those women who give vent to their feelings in writing—seem to fall less a prey to this hatred than men. And even when they have some other woman has generally immediately taken exception to this means of expressing one's national feelings. A German author, for instance, Ida Boy-Ed, wrote an article called *Lieben oder*

Hassen? ("Love or hate?") in which she preached hatred not only towards the men of the enemy, but also towards the women and children of the enemy's country! Another German, Helena Stöcker, the editor of the magazine *Die neue Generation*, immediately wrote a reply with the same title, wherein she shows how harmful this hatred of the enemy is for the national *psyche*, and exposes the unrestrained, reckless way in which men and women, under the protecting helmet of patriotism, spread the poisonous gases of foul slander.

Even the leader of the radical party of the German woman's movement, Mina Cauer, has taken up the gauntlet against the campaign of hate and war-glory. In her paper, *Die Frauen Bewegung*, she has expressed her disappointment in woman's attitude to the war: she had always believed that woman, who gave life, must needs hate war, but she has found that she was mistaken. She had hoped that the German woman's movement—especially the suffrage movement—would demonstrate against the passion of war and national hatred, but in this respect she was unable to detect any difference between men

and women. An educated German woman had even gone so far as to say that she was proud of the *Lusitania* disaster!

From France one, unfortunately, hears even more unrestrained expressions of woman's chauvinism and hatred, and the same is the case in England. The golden shield of patriotism, that women hold up for the protection of their country, has a reverse side of copper: injustice to the enemy. Even if, taken on the whole, one can say that the social democrat and the radicals in every country have been less infected with the fever of nationalism, one must nevertheless agree with what Mrs. Despard has said to her countrywomen:

> The psychological danger of the war is greater than the material danger. Unless one lets reason, justice, and freedom rule, peace will be of little avail. All that the nations have sacrificed will be naught. For true peace will not come before the warring spirit has been uprooted in the soul of man.

This mental condition of the women in the warring countries increases the suffering of the women in the neutral countries. We have benefited by the best bloom of German,

English, French, and Italian culture. The trend of our mind has been partly influenced by the philosophers, poets, and artists of all these countries. We have learned personally to know and to love the one as the other of these nations. And now France and England expect us to throw all our gratitude and sympathy for Germany on the rubbish heap, and in Germany one is considered a national enemy if he does not sanction all Germany's actions against the enemy! If we met with these expectations, we would sink deeply in our own estimation, because we would be denying the best in ourselves. And yet it is this very thing that women in the warring countries consider a self-evident condition for the continuation of their friendship. One of the bitterest things that the women of the warring countries are forced to experience is the disappointment in their friends of neutral countries, because these do not feel able to endorse the viewpoint of the respective governments as to truth and justice!

When these women, who suffer so inexpressibly, regain their mental balance once more, many of the broken ties of friendship will, no doubt, be re-knotted. But many a sou

will have so altered its form in this kiln of suffering—and afterwards have become so set in this form—that it will not be able to re-learn anything from the view of neutrals as to the truth and justice, a view the censors in every country now so carefully suppress, but which is bound to become known after peace.

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The condition of mind of the women of *every* country in Europe at the outbreak of the war was one of maddening impotence at their inability to prevent this world calamity. And they have the same feeling now as regards attaining peace. The women of the warring countries had no more wished for war than the great mass of men. That they courageously sacrifice their husbands, sons, fathers, and brothers, that they devote their strength and work to their country does not imply that they experience the war in the same way as the men do. Many of them have sorrowed day and night because they lack all possibility of wielding any direct influence on decisions, the consequences of which *they* have to bear. This awful feeling of impotence that a great

number of women, who were formerly indifferent to suffrage and other rights, now experience, will prove to be a plough that makes the furrows for the seed of new thoughts.

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One of the great general influences of the war on women will be *an increase of their self-esteem*. All the women who formerly echoed man's talk of woman being a weak, dependent creature, hardly capable of coping with, and taking part in, the struggle for bread earning, will now probably see their sex in a new light. They will hardly put up with man's snubs about "interfering with things they do not understand" as patiently as formerly. What Kipling says of the French women: "When you have looked long enough at the faces of the women, you are inclined to think that the women will have a large say in the final judgment. They have earned it a thousand times,"[1] will come true in many and unexpected fields. Just this greatly increased feeling of self-esteem will make their present helplessness as citizens intolerable. Greatly increased self-

[1] *France at War*, by Rudyard Kipling.

respect added to the increasing indignation they feel at not having a say in national decisions will give suffrage a great impetus.

When the day comes that millions of women rise up against the condition of war which men have fostered, then the harvest will be ripe: the harvest of the seeds that are now being sown in the tortured souls of the women who have waited twenty months for the peace in terror of the casualty lists; in an agony of doubt between hope and despair when their loved ones are reported missing—and who afterwards during the many dreary years of sorrow, yea, of deprivation, have ample time to consider whether the country has really gained anything through the war that can compensate for all the losses the country—and the women—have sustained.

Even in those cases where women regain their loved ones without any great physical or mental hurt, they often find them so changed in character, that the mother, or wife, has the feeling that she is confronted with a different man to the one who left her: a sad man instead of a merry, a hard man instead of a sensitive, a brutal man instead of a refined man. And when the reaction of the

patriotic ecstasy comes, what disgust, what weariness of life there will be in place of this ecstasy! Nerve doctors have pointed out that as long as a person is held by an idea, in which the feelings are greatly involved and which calls for great endurance and self-sacrifice, he can overcome the most unbelievable hardships and sufferings with seeming ease and poise. But when the thing, for which he had braced himself, is accomplished a reaction takes place the consequences of which may last for years or even for a lifetime.

Just as for men so woman's comprehension has shrunk to only a few conceptions, but those few are the more obstinately clung to. All counterbalancing ideas, that formerly gave them breadth of mind, have been eliminated. The men and women who have kept their minds free from national passion and their hearts open to international worths are suspected, yea, hated by their countrymen, to whom the opposite condition now seems the only natural one. The treatment accorded to Romain Rolland in France is the best example of this.

Unfortunately, no doubt, many of those

whose minds have thus shrunk will never regain their former breadth of vision. No grown person will ever be the same after this world war as before. But the difference will show itself in many ways. Many women who were too shallow to give any meaning to their lives before the war will have found to their surprise that they have been moved to a different plane of life, to a more noble conception of life. Many of these will probably find life dull and monotonous when "the great days" are only a memory. Other women who had great ideals, who were unshakably optimistic, give up their fight for higher aims with bitterness and resign themselves to the "reality" they now believe so impossible to improve. Many have, during their tragic experiences, had unexpected revelations of their own or other souls; a lightning-like impression one time of unsuspected nobility, another a just as unsuspected glimpse of baseness, may have left an indelible impression. One may in the great moment of decision have discovered herself more petty and mean than she imagined, and another may to her astonishment have discovered herself to be greater and stronger

than she knew. Just as manifold as individuals are, just as manifold will the mental changes and revelations be, that the war brings with it. Only *one* thing can be foreseen: no illusion could be more ill-founded than the belief that this great and deeply fateful time will leave us all noble and great.

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A great national experience is like first love: it makes small natures great for a time, but they soon shrink back to their natural dimensions. There will be many who experienced "the great days" of the war as they experienced love: their children will not be able to see from the mental scope of their parents that they ever lived through any great experience. And many, in the horror of war, will lose noble traits that they possessed before. Tenderness becomes callous through familiarity with horror, sensitiveness becomes blunted, the courage to live pines away, everything seems equally meaningless, equally hopeless. Faith and goodness, hope and courage: everything seems swallowed up in an abyss of life-weariness, that yet never seems to be filled. Great numbers of people

will bear witness to the fact that excessive mental suffering—just as excessive physical suffering—leads to insensitiveness. Many of the women who are indefatigable in their work for the help and comfort of others are mere automatons, they are petrified. Life has nothing more to give them, only death could be a comfort.

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Again, other women—especially if they have not lost those that were dearest to them—will emerge from this crisis, quickened. They have been confronted by the necessity for great and quick decisions; they have dared everything when the issue was life or death. Their hearts have been enlarged by a stronger beat. They have experienced the heroic life of which they dreamed in their youth.

And even when, later on, life assumes its everyday aspects again it will never be monotonous and empty to these women. They have experienced the heights and the depths of life, and they will carry the stamp of these experiences.

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I, for one, never believed the assertion that was frequently made in the beginning of the war: The crisis would weld all warring nations into one united whole, where all the previous distinctions between classes and parties had disappeared. Later events have justified my skepsis. But the war has had another good result: it has lessened the gap between man and man in the warring countries. It is said that in England, the country of sharp class distinctions, when the ammunitions workers enter the underground railway other passengers rise so that the tired men may sit. Ladies and gentlemen often give their seats in the train, or the tram, to soldiers or sailors. The public is said to be more courteous, and one believes that the women conductors, letter carriers, and lift girls have had an influence on the increase of politeness in England.

But the levelling influences of war must reach still further. The countess who has done the same relief-work as her dressmaker; the wife of the bank-director who has wept on the shoulder of the charwoman when each has lost an only son, the artist who has gone to the hospital together with her maid, each to

visit her true-love, these have been drawn so near to each other that there can never again be the same distance between them.

If, therefore, women's social culture in this and many other respects is increased through the war and the many forms of social work between the different classes, their personal culture is, on the other hand, not benefited. Already several years before the war I was taken aback by the following words in an American magazine:

"Self-culture is of the antiquated past. It is greatly superseded by service to humanity." For nothing is more certain than that if personal culture is neglected, the personalities who devote themselves to the service of humanity will be less developed and deep, and what they have to give to the community will be in proportion qualitatively of less value as their work is quantitatively increased at the cost of culture.

If it has been difficult during the war in neutral countries to read other books but those dealing with the war; if the interest in studies has been diminished; if one's thoughts have been scattered, one's creative ability weakened; how much more, then, must this be

the case in the warring countries? After the war this condition will be changed for many people. But if many women already through their social work have lost their taste for self-improvement, then it is probable that the number of people engaged in these restless activities will be greatly increased; that is, in the generation that is of an active age.

The force of reaction may cause a great many of the more serious-minded of the younger generation to study the classic poets and philosophers and to again take up the study of their own spiritual development. For the rest, especially if they stand on the threshold between childhood and youth, the reaction from all the suffering and deprivation that they see in their homes may bring about a passionate desire for the lighter sides of life, for pleasure and indulgence.

To superficial natures this world war has meant more an outward sensation than an inner experience. And the longer it lasts, the more will this be the case. People who experience the war in the deepest sense of the word already express the apprehension that the fruits of this war will never

ripen in the hands of those who pluck them lightly.

A German who at a bathing resort overheard a young goose laugh shrilly at a young lieutenant's description of the soldiers' coarse performances and drinking bouts, expresses with devout seriousness the hope that great psychic experiences will not be thus debased. Let us hope with all our hearts that this will not be the case, though we at the same time know that a goose will always be a goose even though she be dressed in mourning.

But it is an error to suppose that the nobler human instincts that the war causes people to suppress will of a certainty come to the surface again after the war. Every sensitive soul will, to a certain extent, be transformed. The greatest misfortune of this war lies in the many cases where this transformation has not led to a deeper grasp of life, but to a narrowing of the vision and belief in life that the people had before the war. Many a person who might have become a human masterpiece will in and through this war have become a mere human fragment.

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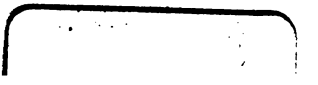
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